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SUMMARY VIEW

OF

AMERICA:

COMPRISING A

DESCRIPTION OF THE FACE OF THE COUNTRY, AND OF SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES;

AND

REMARKS

ON THE SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE:

BEING THE RESULT OF

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OBSERVATIONS AND ENQUIRIES

DURING

A JOURNEY IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

So many books respecting America have of late years been given to the public, that it seems incumbent on me to state the motives, which induce me to offer this volume to their notice. Soon after I landed at New York, I began to make memorandums of those things which attracted my attention either by their novelty or importance, and continued to do so during my stay in the country. On looking over them, I thought that I could compile a volume of a nature likely to be generally interesting; an opinion in which I was confirmed, by an examination of the works of preceding travellers. For though a tolerably correct estimate of America may be

formed, by comparing the different accounts, there is no one, so far as my information extends, which gives under general heads those particulars that are the most interesting to common readers. To supply this deficiency has been my object. The reader therefore is not to expect to find in this book, profound disquisitions on statistics or politics. I have rather endeavoured to give a popular sketch of a variety of subjects, hoping that all may find something to please, while few will have reason to complain of being tired. Much of the information will I doubt not be novel to most, as it is on subjects but little adverted to by the writers who have preceded me.

As I have ventured to draw general conclusions, it is needful for me to state, that my travels though extensive, were confined to the following States: Massachusetts, Rhode

Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Perhaps if I had gone further west and south, I might have arrived at some conclusions different to those which I have now formed; but as my engagements were of a kind offering me considerable leisure, of which I endeavoured to make good use, I trust that few errors of consequence will be found. My range was certainly sufficiently wide for the formation of correct opinions, as it enabled me to see the difference between the old and newly settled parts, and between those where slavery prevails and where it is abolished. It was in 1823, and part of the preceding year, that my journey was made.

Some apology seems necessary for the occasional repetitions of particular facts and opinions. It will I think be found that they seldom or never occur except in illus-

tration of something different to what preceded. They are certainly not introduced for the purpose of swelling the volume; and if they contribute to clearness of conception, they are surely excusable.

If I had been writing for my own countrymen only, some of the paragraphs would never have appeared; but as it is probable, and indeed almost certain, that my book, if of any value, will obtain readers in America, I have been willing to call their attention to several objects particularly deserving of it. Some of these however, may be equally useful to English readers, by leading them to examine into matters of a similar nature at home. Should such be their effect, a double purpose will be answered, and I shall have the satisfaction of believing that I have not written in vain.

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ERRATUM.

Page 370, line 17, *for* Louis *read* Lucien.

A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF

AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE face of the country in the United States is, as may be supposed, exceedingly varied. The land for a prodigious extent on the borders of the Atlantic is flat, and in Virginia for a great distance inland. In Massachusetts more variety exists. In the level districts it is not easy to obtain an extensive prospect, owing to the quantity of timber encumbering the ground; and even where a good view is obtained, it is formal and uninteresting. The houses, generally built of wood, have no ornamental gardens about them, while the zigzag wooden fences have no beauty in themselves, and mar what little beauty there is in the landscape. Even where a river bursts upon the view, wide and magnificent, the

spectator is disappointed as to its beauty, from the want of high banks. Where no prominent object appears for the eye to fix on, the surrounding beauties want the benefit of contrast. In the interior the scene improves. Nature in many parts is lavish of her bounties, as if laughing at the littleness of art. Hills and mountains, some rude and bare, others covered with trees; fertile valleys, watered by meandering streams; huge rocks, with tremendous precipices; cascades, cataracts, and torrents; these are all to be found in abundance. But as general descriptions fail of giving a distinct idea, I shall mention with some minuteness some of the parts I passed through, persuaded that the lover of nature will excuse a little tediousness to gain correct ideas.

From New York I sailed up the Hudson to Albany, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles in a sloop. The steam-packet from its expedition would have been preferable, had I not learnt that it passed by the most interesting part during the night. Having but little wind the voyage was long, and but for the variety and beauty of the scenery, would have been exceedingly tiresome. The banks adorned with a variety of forest trees rise in some places nearly precipit-

ously from the water; in others, small cultivated hills here and there ornamented with a gentleman's house attract the eye. In one part, where the river passes through the Kaatskill mountains, it expands into a capacious basin resembling a lake, having that seclusion in the midst of magnificence, which gives to lake scenery its characteristic charm. We cast anchor in it, and just at twilight the steam-boat passed us. No sound was to be heard but that of its paddles striking the water. I looked around me, and while surveying the hills dark below, and bright above with the sunshine, I felt the power of a placid, majestic scene on the mind. It is productive of that pleasing melancholy described by Dyer,—

> "There is a mood,
> There is a kindly mood of melancholy
> That wings the soul and points her to the skies."

On the following morning we came in sight of two towns, one on each side of the river. They formed an agreeable spectacle, as showing us, that notwithstanding our last evening's loneliness, we were still near man and his haunts; for beautiful as nature is, it is in society that our chief delight is found. Beauty after beauty claimed my attention till we reached Albany. The Hudson at a future day will attract Americans as the Rhine now attracts Europeans.

From Albany I proceeded to Schenectady, through rough uninviting lands. From that place to Little Falls, the road runs by the side of the Mohawk, a river tributary to the Hudson. With rocky hills on one side, and water on the other, the prospect is in some parts picturesque, though there is more often a dreariness displeasing to the eye, and repelling to the fancy. The village of Little Falls is quite romantic. The river being impeded in its course by huge stones, in a spot where the descent is rapid, dashes through them with fearful impetuosity. A little below the rapids, stands an aqueduct for supplying the Erie canal, and though of only three arches, yet being a handsome piece of masonry, it contrasts well with the rugged scene around. Below the aqueduct is an islet covered with trees; an interesting feature in the landscape. Parallel with the river runs the canal, and it having been necessary in its formation to remove a large portion of the rock by blasting, a wall of great height surmounted by trees flanks it for some distance. Above, below, and opposite, the rock remains in its natural state, knoll upon knoll as if nature were in a vagary. If the hand of taste were judiciously applied in this enchanting spot, it might be rendered like what we fancy of fairy land. Westward of Little Falls

extends a tract called the German Flatts. Numerous farm houses having an appearance of great comfort, surrounded by land in a middling state of cultivation and in sight of lofty hills, make this an agreeable part to travel in.

The lakes in New York are worthy the notice of the admirer of nature, for though not encompassed by mountains, and of course not sublime, they have beauties by no means despicable. The native forest at present occupies the circumjacent land, removed here and there however to make way for a village with its little church spire, and for green pastures where sheep and oxen are seen grazing. Where a small stream falls into the lake, there is a beautiful opening in the bank exhibiting trees of various heights and foliage. It was a fine day when I made the voyage of Lake Cayuga in a steam-packet. Autumn had just begun to embrown and redden the forest, giving it its most attractive aspect. The cultivated patches, refreshed by some recent showers, seemed in their holiday dress: and who but could rejoice in the thought that the whole wilderness was likely in a few years to give place to corn and pasture? It was animating to reflect that a numerous population will be here settled, and that that land where the roaming savage pursued

his prey, never advancing one step in civilization, will be occupied by an industrious people, cultivating the arts and charities of social life with the domestic gratifications and virtues. If a copy of my book should chance to reach posterity, some future inhabitant of this region may exult in the realization of my anticipations. Near the village of Ithaca at the south end of the lake are some fine waterfalls, to which I was conducted by an inhabitant with whom I fell into conversation. A small creek called Fall creek has seven of them differing from each other in appearance, and all beautiful. In one the descent is perpendicular, in another the masses of rock are so arranged, as to look like a natural staircase, over which the water tumbles and foams, the dark brown rock showing itself in places through the white froth. The rocks on each side rise in several parts perpendicularly to the height of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet: in other parts, the swell is gradual: in all, timber is abundant. There are two or three tremendous fissures in the hills; and the spectator standing on the brink of one of them, if he first surveys the cascade, then directs his eyes to the gulf below, and the prodigious rocks around, will find in the whole a truly majestic scene. Taken separately the parts are beautiful,

combined almost awful. To add to the general interest, there is a passage between two lofty walls, made by digging and blasting the rock to form a sluice for the supply of a mill. Few objects of the kind are more imposing. Besides the cascades in Fall creek, there are several others in the neighbourhood of Ithaca, in one of which, the water falls into a basin of considerable depth, from a height of fifteen or twenty feet. A person told me, that he had plunged from the ledge of the rock over which it passes into the stream, and had been driven by it to the bottom of the basin. Being informed that on the other side of the lake, there was a fall still more worthy of notice than those I had seen, I walked to Trumansberg, near which village it is situate; and richly indeed was I recompensed. A sheet of water about twenty feet wide has an unbroken fall of two hundred, appearing before it reaches the bottom like mist. The rocks rise around it perpendicularly on every side, and are three hundred feet high, forming an amphitheatre of prodigious dimensions. I should have liked to view this from below; but I found it would require more time to descend to the bottom than I could conveniently spare, and my companion was eager to return. From above, it was the sublimest and most thrilling object I had ever seen. I crept to

the brink of the rock, holding by a tree while I leaned over, and surveyed it with a degree of terror, knowing that if my hand slipped, my eyes would be closed for ever! My companion took care to keep at a safe distance. A little above the fall, the rock is of romantic appearance from the winding channel of the creek. It must in all probability have been abraded by the water; but unless the stream is larger at times than when I saw it, it is difficult to conceive the agency sufficient. The land west of this is for the greater part in the state of nature. Forests of pines, hollies, oaks, locusts, and other trees extending in every direction so as to give the traveller a very limited prospect, are not so agreeable as a more open country, from the sameness of the views: and in winter when the trees are denuded it is dismal indeed travelling here. The only relief to the eye is the log-house of the settler with his patch of half cleared ground, where the black stumps of trees are left to disfigure it; or spots where they are left standing like masses of charcoal, having been scathed with fire, or lying rotting on the ground overgrown with fungi. Even in such a district as this however, the cheering view of industry encroaching on the domains of desolation, is sufficient to make the solitary wanderer proceed with joyous feelings.

Having mentioned the log-houses of the settlers, I may just observe, that though some of them are built two stories high, and with some regard to comfort, yet that the greater number have only one room. They are made of trunks of trees notched at the corners to fit into each other, the interstices being filled with turf or clay. They add as little to the beauty of the landscape as the mud-built cottages in some parts of Devonshire. The log-house is succeeded by the frame-house as cultivation advances. The latter, though far more comfortable and complete, is what every landscape painter fond of the picturesque would wish removed from view.

It may be expected that I should say something of Niagara cataract, the most celebrated in the world, though inferior in magnitude to the Riakan-fossen in Norway; but so many descriptions of it have been given, as to render it needless to say much. I found I had formed a tolerably correct idea of it; yet the reality was rather below than above my expectation, though not so much as is often the case with travellers, having learnt by experience to make liberal deductions from the accounts by tourists of the wonders of both art and nature. One reason why Niagara so often disappoints expectation is,

that its height is not proportionate to the body of water. The greatest fall, which is on the Canadian side, is estimated at one hundred and sixty feet, being less than that of many cataracts in Europe and South America. Taking this into consideration, and the circumstance that the surrounding land is level and of uninviting aspect, it is not surprising that those whose imaginations are active, should find Niagara inferior in interest to their preconceived ideas. But if the first view disappoints, the second generally gratifies, there being nothing to abate the interest. A wide, deep river precipitated one hundred and sixty feet is in itself magnificent; and when the turmoil and ebullition produced by it in the gulf below are considered, and the mist rising in a cloud higher than the upper banks of the river, it will be readily supposed that its impression on the mind is one of the most awful of all nature's stupendous works. The rainbow formed by the mist gives a variety to the whole, though I think it rather detracts from the sublimity. In some situations it appears with its outer circle to the earth, an appearance very striking to those who have never witnessed the like. Goat Island which is in the middle of the river, and separates it so as to occasion two falls, is accessible by a bridge from

the New York side. From this island is obtained one of the finest views of the cataract, as well as of the rapids above; and the latter being regarded by many as of nearly equal interest, the island has many visiters. I found a solitary family living here in a log-house; and on going in to ask them a few questions, I was surprised to find they were English, the man being a Lancashire weaver! How agreeable was it to me to find those of my own country in such a situation! And when I told them of my being an Englishman, they were pleased too. It may be supposed that a situation like theirs cannot be comfortable from the stunning, thundering noise of which Goldsmith makes mention, especially when we consider, that it is heard according to travellers at forty miles distance. On this point however very erroneous opinions prevail. Conversation is as easily supported within a few yards of the cataract as in the most silent spot. When the wind is adverse it cannot be heard two miles off. Before concluding, let me add as matter of curiosity, that a deer was drawn down some time since, and when taken up was found to be not quite dead, though so far gone that means failed to restore it. It survived but a short time. A cat which was thrown over, soon found its way home again. Several human beings have been

drawn into the rapids, and have also been precipitated into the dreadful abyss; but no one so far as is known has ever survived: yet if a strong man, being a good swimmer, could reach the edge without encountering the rapids, I think it is barely possible that he might save his life.

It being in the winter when I travelled in New England, it cannot be supposed that I should have much to remark on its scenery. I noticed that more land is under cultivation than in the parts of New York I had passed through, and much more neatness in the farms and farm-houses. In Connecticut, stone fences have over a large space superseded wooden ones, and are I think superior to them except where the latter are formed like good hurdles. Hawthorn hedges are seldom seen, and do not thrive well. It is a little remarkable that the American farmers do not plant hazel hedges, which are strong and will thrive on a variety of soils, besides having the additional recommendation of being ornamental, as those who have travelled in South Wales can testify. In Delaware I noticed some lofty hedges of a sort of privet, which are as beautiful as almost any hedges I ever saw. In Virginia they have cypress hedges, which are pleasing to the eye in comparison with the zigzag

wooden fences, though inferior to those of thorn or hazel.

In Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, there are the most extensive views of cultivated nature I saw in the United States; and though the pastures are browner than those of our humid climate, the general aspect of the country is bright and enlivening. The groves of fine trees are here as great an addition to the beauty of the prospect as can be well imagined. And then there is such apparent comfort in the substantial well-built farm-houses, that it is quite delightful. Even the barns and out-houses are large and weather-proof, a general characteristic of Pennsylvania: but on entering Maryland how great is the change! the farm-houses slovenly, the outbuildings of rude structure, and the negro huts no better than pig-sties: these were what struck my attention in Maryland. The land too is as barren and dismal looking as is perhaps to be found in the United States, though I afterwards found that some parts of that State are pre-eminently beautiful, particularly around the town of Frederick. The land there is so rich that I gazed with a sort of rapturous feeling. I proceeded from Frederick to Harper's Ferry in Virginia, a place worthy of notice on two ac-

counts; one, its picturesque situation, the other, the extravagant eulogium bestowed on it by Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia; a book which shows the enthusiasm of the author, as well as his bigotry and narrow mindedness. After an animated description of Harper's Ferry, he concludes by observing that it is worth a voyage across the Atlantic to see it. The scenery is unquestionably fine. The steep, rugged hills between which the water runs or rather dashes, are adorned with trees, and when surveyed from their summit at noon 'day, appear with what Pope calls "a flood of glory"; but the European, without crossing the Atlantic, may survey many spots of superior interest. And this leads me to mention the Natural Bridge, which Jefferson characterizes in as high terms as Harper's Ferry. As a natural curiosity it deserves attention and may excite wonder. It spans the creek at an altitude of one hundred and eighty feet, the rocks on each side rising perpendicularly; and has all the security and utility of the most laboured masonry. The road over it is between two rows of trees, which it is to be hoped will not be removed: for though houses on a bridge are a deformity, the same cannot be said of trees on a bridge like this.

Another of the natural curiosities mentioned by Jefferson is Madison's Cave, which is now however seldom visited, as a larger and more interesting one named Weir's Cave has been discovered near it. I explored every part of this in company with three young men. It is so spacious and has so many recesses that we were three hours in viewing it. The stalactites being incrusted with a lutarious substance, are of course less beautiful, than those which are described as being in the grotto of Antiparos brilliant as diamonds. Such however is their variety in shape, that tables, thrones, bridges, candelabras, toilettes, and twenty other things, present themselves to the eye of fancy. Many of these are named after public characters; others according to their resemblance to particular objects. In some parts we had to stoop very low to pass along; in others, the roof rose to the height of I suppose one hundred feet. Here the sides were straight as a brick wall, there irregular and fantastic as the cliffs in the Isle of Wight. We came in one spot to a spring of clear water which we were requested to taste, it being conformable to rule to pay this respect to the genius of the place. What nymph has fixed on this for her palace I was not informed, but she has manifested as much taste as the Empress Anne in her palace of ice.

In the eastern parts of Virginia, the country is flat, very poorly cultivated, and as unattractive as the fens of Cambridgeshire. The better parts, where the planters have made cypress hedges, reminded me of Suffolk; but the negro huts where nothing like comfort is to be seen, cause one to turn away disgusted. In the central parts of the State, the ridges of mountains forming part of the Alleghany, give a diversified aspect to the land. From the top of one of the mountains of the Blue ridge I had a very extensive and grand prospect. Owing to taking a wrong turn in going through a wood at its foot, I deviated widely from the track, and climbed by a difficult and laborious ascent to the summit, a thing which I minded but little, as I found myself on much higher ground than if I had kept to the road. On one side, hill beyond hill stretched to the horizon, in appearance like the ocean, blue and undulated. On the other I looked into the valley I had left, where I perceived a village at about six miles distant with a slip of cleared land around it, the forest extending in every other direction, broken here and there by a few small patches of cleared ground near the houses of some poor people. A stream winding through the valley was perceptible in places, offering a bright contrast to the gloomy forest. On one part

of the mountain, I observed enormous masses of rock piled irregularly on each other, as if some subterraneous eruption had taken place there. From the spot where I stood, I had to make my way by a circuitous route to the high road. This I accomplished just before sunset, having been engaged nearly the whole day in traversing the mountain, tasting nothing and seeing no fellow being. I had yet six miles to walk to reach a house of shelter for the night, and pushing forward with vigour, I had not long to walk in the dark. Mountainous scenery is beheld to most advantage by twilight, indistinctness contributing to its majesty. Never before was I so struck with it, the total silence adding to the whole a sort of religious reverence. Just as I gained the farm-house where I requested and obtained a lodging, the moon rose from behind the mountain giving a new and more lovely aspect to both mountain and valley, and enabling me to see it in its various hues of blue, brown, yellow, and white. The valley into which I had now entered was uncultivated to a great extent, and destitute of beauty. I made my way to Charlottesville where fine scenery again claims the notice of the traveller. But it seems unnecessary to say more in illustration of American scenery, except in a few general particulars.

In no part is cultivation so finished as to exhibit all the charms of which it is susceptible; hence, where nature has not been liberal, travelling, as far as external appearances contribute to enjoyment, is little interesting, especially, as there are no large houses of tasteful architecture surrounded by lawns and woods of regular formation. Ornamental gardening is seldom seen; picturesque gardening totally unknown. It may have been these things which led an American author to say of his country, that it is the land of dull realities. The pleasure I experienced in surveying many different spots where grandeur reigns triumphant, and in tracing the minute beauties of others, as the banks of the Brandywine and Schuylkill, which though different from each other are both rich in attractions, forbid my concurring in this remark. The proportion of land incapable of being made arable is small, consequently absolute barrenness seldom displeases the eye. Even in swampy ground all is not desolate. The Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina is covered with juniper and cedar trees. And on the whole it may be said, that if art has done comparatively little in improving nature, nature in many instances is on a scale so large as to need scarcely any of her assistance. I ought not here to omit mentioning

that the sun sets in America with a radiance so surpassing, that it filled me with wonder and delight. How often have I stopped in my evening rambles to feast my eyes with the glorious prospect! The sky seemed in flame, as bright as an iron furnace when the liquid metal flows from it into the moulds.

In my walks through the country, especially when traversing the native forest, I was forcibly struck with the general silence of nature. How little was there to please compared with the melody of our groves! Frequently, nothing was to be heard but the woodpecker striking his bill against a tree. At other times I heard a chorus of frogs chirping rather than croaking. In the evening, I have stopped to listen to the plaintive but tiresome note of the whipperwill, a bird, named like the cuckow from its unvarying voice. But the lark springing upward to the sky, and making every thing resound with its lively, inspiriting strain; or the blackbird with its clear whistle; or the nightingale with its full, rich, voluptuous swell and fall;—these are not to be heard in America, to say nothing of the linnet, the thrush, or the whole tribe of finches. They have indeed birds called by these names, but they are quite different from ours. Some how-

ever they have of very pleasant song, which may be heard at daybreak, and for an hour or two after. I cannot speak of the mocking-bird, for I was not fortunate enough to hear it; but I heard several whose names I have forgotten, which made the woods vocal in an enchanting manner. But no sooner does the sun gain considerable power, than a silence like the grave supervenes, except in the ponds and bogs, where the frogs and toads have fixed their abode. In many parts you may listen in vain to hear any sound at all. In the words of Dr. Young,

> "Listening ear no object finds;
> Creation sleeps. 'Tis as the general pulse
> Of life stood still, and nature made a pause;
> An awful pause! prophetic of her end."

CHAPTER II.

CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES.

As the place where I first landed in America was New York, I shall begin by giving some account of that city. Standing like Constantinople on a point of land, it is nearly encompassed by water, and appears at a little distance as if afloat. Ships of the largest burden can approach it at all times of the year, and obtain secure anchorage in its harbour. It unites the advantages of a port on the sea-board, with those of a port like London or Hamburg, without the delays incident to a long river navigation. So important is this felt to be, that it is common for persons from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Montreal and Quebec to come to New York to take ship for Europe. That fine river the Hudson, after running longitudinally for upwards of three hundred miles, empties itself into New York bay. By means of canals now in progress, the city will soon be able to transport its merchandise into the western regions as well as the northern. Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain will directly communicate with it, and contribute to its pros-

perity. On the whole continent of North America, New Orleans is the only one rivalling it in commercial advantages; and from the insalubrity of its climate, that city will not probably, for centuries to come, equal New York in population, enterprise, and capital. New York, like Liverpool, Petersburg, and Calcutta, has risen into eminence in a comparatively short period. It is still increasing in magnitude and importance, and will continue to do so for a long time to come; but the idea which the Americans entertain, that in another century it will equal London needs only to be mentioned to show its absurdity; yet this idea is not confined to the vulgar; a gentleman, formerly a member of congress, and of high reputation for talents and learning, gravely insisted when in conversation with me on its probability! The reader will probably commend my judgment for not attempting to argue the point with him: it seemed to be so much a favourite with him, that his happiness might have been diminished by breaking the illusion.

New York viewed from a distance at which the eye can take in its full length, from Hoboken for instance, or the heights of Brooklyn, has the air of a metropolis. The long line of shipping before the wharfs, the numerous lofty

spires and turrets, the steam-boats incessantly moving; all these manifest it to be a place of vast importance. A walk through it, however, dissipates much of the idea of grandeur excited by a distant view. With the exception of Broadway, Hudson Street, and Greenwich Street, there are few streets deserving particular notice. Most of the steeples are of wood, appearing mean to those accustomed to the sight of stone ones. Of the public buildings, the City Hall and St. Paul's church, are the only two of tasteful architecture. The Catholic cathedral is large but not beautiful. There is no exchange for the merchants, and the shops are less splendid than the size of the city would lead one to expect. But when the feelings of disappointment have subsided, and the pedestrian knows what to regard, he may find enough to gratify. Broadway extends the whole length of the city, dividing it into two nearly equal parts. It is wide, and in several parts planted with trees. The houses are built of red brick, and are lofty and spacious. Several churches are placed in it, and others are within view; and the City Hall, an elegant marble structure on a stone basement, with an open space before it surrounded by iron railing, breaks the uniformity of the ranges of houses, and adds to the general beauty.

The Battery-walk at its lower extremity overlooking the bay, is an agreeable promenade. Hudson and Greenwich Streets are handsome, though of the latter, part only is entitled to that epithet. The markets are commodious and well supplied. The upper part of the city consists principally of wooden houses, the further erection of which ought to be prohibited, on account of their danger, especially as other building materials are abundant.

The streets are not so cleanly swept as they should be; the reason for which is, that it is left to each housekeeper to sweep before his own door, instead of sweepers being appointed by the corporation. Pigs are suffered to run at large, a thing of which many of the inhabitants are ashamed, but which the greater part contend for as contributory to the healthiness of the city! The animal and vegetable matter thrown into the streets would, it is contended, putrify and taint the air, were it not for the pigs. But what a beastly idea is it, that the people are so lazy or dirty, as to use pigs for scavengers! The corporation have, however, issued ordinances against this nuisance. Why, then, it may be inquired, is it suffered to remain? I reply, because the enforcement of the ordinances would

endanger the popularity of the members of the corporation, and the security of their seats. No city in America is, I suppose, under more mob influence than New York. Pigs ought not to be allowed to be kept even in a yard within the boundary of a city. Private gain must yield to the public good; and what can more conduce to the general comfort than the removal, as far as practicable, of all those unpleasant smells which render the atmosphere of cities unwholesome? The prohibition to keep pigs in London and Bristol is approved by the inhabitants at large.

Boston is built on a peninsula, which it almost entirely covers, and extends along the isthmus to the main land. It has a fine harbour; but from its want of inland navigation is vastly inferior to New York in situation. Its trade to India, South America, and the West Indies, is great, some of the greatest capitalists in the country being established there. In general appearance, Boston is more like an English town than most in America. It does not seem so newly built as New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, the streets being more varied in their size and shape, some being crooked and narrow, others straight and wide. The principal private

dwelling houses have a very elegant appearance, and some few have a splendour which would attract admiration in London or Paris. The public walk near the State-house is almost surrounded by fine houses. The view from the State-house is very fine. The harbour with its numerous vessels, beyond which the bay studded with islets looks like a smooth beautiful lake, being protected from the ocean by a promontory; the numerous lofty church spires; the ranges of large warehouses round the docks; the long bridges connecting the peninsula with the main land; the surrounding country varied with hill and dale, towns and villages, the neighbouring University conspicuous amongst them: these altogether form a very delightful picture.

Of all the cities in the United States, no one is so celebrated for its beauty as Philadelphia, being built like Babylon, which Dean Prideaux says Penn took as his model, on the quadrangular plan; that is, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. As almost every traveller has praised this plan for its beauty, I shall be thought a heretic in matters of taste, for avowing that I do not admire it. Regularity in buildings is doubtless pleasing; but in a large city, there should also be variety. "But where the

streets uniformly intersect each other at right angles, a tiresome formality is the result. Besides, interminable streets afford no situation for showing a fine building to advantage, as a distant front view cannot be obtained. In Philadelphia it is necessary to be close to a building to see its beauties; or, if there be an exception, it is the Episcopal church in Tenth Street, which standing opposite a lane, may be seen further off than others, and just serves to show the citizens how much may be gained by the judicious position of public edifices. I speak of edifices in the streets, for those in the squares can of course be viewed at a proper distance. What is the most wanted in Philadelphia is a curve. Who with the slightest pretensions to taste, but must have noticed the superior beauty of High Street in Oxford from its fine sweep? college after college, tower after tower, gradually displaying their proportions to the spectator, till his admiration is lost in wonder. Who has seen the crescents and circus at Bath and not admitted their preeminence over a square? Who has walked in Regent Street in London and been insensible to the beauties of the elliptical turn? And what Parisian but will direct the visiter to the Boulevards, for a town walk of varied attractions? In short, when I hear persons praising the plan of

Philadelphia, I cannot help telling them, that it is a square-cut, formal place, reminding one of those old fashioned gardens on the Dutch plan, so satirised by Pope. Altering the words used by him, it may be said of Philadelphia,

> "Street nods at street, each alley has a brother,
> And half the city just reflects the other."

"But," say the Philadelphians when the plan of their city is objected to, "surely Pearl Street in New York, which deviates from the straight line, is far from handsome." This is very true; but then it is to be observed, that it has neither regularity nor fine buildings: though for my own part, I prefer a city having streets like Pearl Street with all its irregularity, to one having no variety. The only place in England on the same plan as Philadelphia is Salisbury; at least, after having seen almost every town in the country, it is the only one I can call to mind. The fact is, that most of our towns and cities are built without any plan, and of course, many of them are very ugly; witness Stockport, Folkestone and Whitby: but of others it may be said, that the irregularity itself is beautiful; such are Oxford, Worcester, Colchester and Lancaster. These places are generally admired; but I never heard Salisbury praised for its beauty. I am therefore

fully convinced, that in objecting to Philadelphia, I do so on substantial grounds. The new town of Edinburgh was commenced on the quadrangular plan; and with great propriety, as the old town exhibited nothing of the kind, and one served to set off the other: but the citizens have been wise enough to deviate from strict uniformity, perceiving that when carried to a great extent it becomes faulty. What is the consequence? Why, that as a whole, Edinburgh is paramount in beauty. Its superior locality certainly contributes to it; but art has done wonders in making a proper use of this superior locality. Philadelphia is on a level surface, making the uniformity of the plan still more displeasing. I knew before I saw it, from the description I had heard of it, that I should not admire it; and yet with such an impression on my mind, I found it less pleasing than I anticipated. There is only one street of great width, being the one which runs centrally from east to west, but which having a market-house in it, cannot be called handsome. It is much on a par with Fleet-market in London. Several of the streets are however truly beautiful, Chesnut Street and Arch Street for instance. Never before, did I see ranges of houses so neat, comfortable, and simply elegant. The bricks are kept nicely painted, looking as fresh as if newly

erected; and then they are so set off by the window marble slabs, and the marble steps to the doors which are kept nicely washed, that I suppose no European city can show the like. To complete the beauty, trees are planted on each side of the street. An evening's walk in Chesnut Street, when the best dressed citizens with their wives and smiling daughters are enjoying the luxury of a stroll after the suspension of business, is to a stranger delightful indeed. Dull must be the heart of him who does not participate in the hilarity of the hour.

I have hitherto made no mention of the public buildings in Philadelphia; nor shall I attempt to describe them minutely. Few of the churches have steeples; the reason for which is, that the founders of the city being Quakers, had no liking to them; and the Presbyterians who followed, brought with them opinions of their Popish origin and superstitious tendency, there being at that time a controversy in Scotland on the subject. The modern Presbyterians having lost the objections of their ancestors, and the Episcopalians never holding them, the recently erected churches have the additional ornament of steeples, some of them lofty. The Episcopal church in Tenth Street pleased me the most of all the re-

ligious edifices, though not so spacious as some others. It is as chaste a specimen of modern Gothic as is perhaps any where to be seen; and only wants towers of greater height to make it the greatest ornament the city can show. The University, the Hospital, and two of the Banks, are fine buildings, more particularly the latter, which are of tasteful, elegant architecture. The water-works for supplying the city from the Schuylkill are in substantial stone buildings; and are creditable to the public spirit of the citizens, who in this instance have combined embellishment with utility.

Of the different cities which I saw in America, Baltimore was the one which I the most admired; not but I could point out how susceptible it is of improvement. With too much adherence to the quadrangular plan, it has some variety, the ground on which it stands not being level. The houses, though not so tasteful as those in Philadelphia, are generally good, and some of them superb. The streets are wide: the public buildings numerous and beautiful. The Exchange is surmounted by a dome of no mean dimensions, topping the other buildings as in the pride of superiority. The Catholic cathedral has also a large dome, and though unfinished from the want

of funds, is both externally and internally a fine edifice. The Unitarian church placed near it, is one of the most exactly finished edifices in the country. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians have each a fine church; that of the latter in particular is ornamental to the city. When it is considered that in addition to these, Baltimore has a tasteful monument, to commemorate those of her citizens who fell in the action at North Point, and a lofty one, like the Monument in London, in honour of Washington, it will be admitted that it is both a beautiful and interesting city. The public springs which supply the inhabitants with water, are made contributory to elegance as well as comfort, being received into basins protected by iron railing, and are quite equal in appearance to half the fountains in Paris. The prospect from the Washington monument is extensive, but vastly inferior in beauty to that from the State-house at Boston, the circumjacent land being very imperfectly cultivated.

Richmond, the capital of Virginia, has a beautiful site, but it cannot be called a beautiful city. The Capitol stands on an eminence near the Governor's house; but neither of them has much architectural embellishment. They are both unworthy of the State. Why should Virginia,

nearly the largest and most populous State in the Union, not have a house for its legislature, equal to that of Pennsylvania or of New York? Of the other public buildings, none deserve notice as ornaments. The Jail is a large ugly building, seeming as if designed by the architect to frighten people from becoming its inmates; and if such had been its effect, I could well have pardoned its ugliness; but I found it crowded with criminals, black, white and tawny. How much did I regret while walking in Richmond, that a place which from its site might have been made conspicuously beautiful, should be so formal, dull and heavy! Had the streets been planned, so as to take advantage of the inequalities of the ground, it would have been the object of general admiration, instead of being regarded with contempt. Nothing however would suit the citizens but imitating Philadelphia, just as if, admitting the plan of that city to be beautiful, it was the only beautiful one that could be devised; or as if a town standing on hilly ground should exactly correspond with one on a level. This lamentable mistake will be perceived when it is too late to remedy it.

Washington, the seat of the government of the United States, whence it is sometimes called

the Federal city, is more varied than those I have objected to. The person who laid its plan was a Frenchman, who took care to have some diagonal streets to diversify it, as well as to afford opportunity for the display of the glories of architecture. If the outline be ever filled up, Washington will be a metropolis worthy of the country: at present, it is a straggling and not very captivating place, having in conjunction with Georgetown, which bears the same relation to it that Southwark does to London, a population of twelve thousand in a space three miles long and half a mile wide. The President's House is substantial and plain, and not destitute of elegance. It would be considered in England a good second-rate country seat. The Capitol, with several considerable defects, is the largest and finest building in the United States. If placed beside the Houses of Parliament, it would cast them in the shade; for England, as is well known, cannot boast of the structures where her legislators assemble. The street from the President's House to the Capitol is upwards of a mile long, very wide, having a double row of trees on each side, and with moderate sized brick houses. In some of the other streets, are rows of elegant private dwellings, though the best of them, even those occupied by foreign ministers,

will not compare with the houses of the wealthy merchants of Baltimore and Boston. The view from the Capitol is very extensive, but neither beautiful nor grand. The Potowmac with its two branches, is to be sure an object on which the eye satisfactorily rests; but then the landscape is so brown, so bleak (almost every thing appearing stunted), and so destitute of villages, that it affords little gratification to the spectator. The embryo city appears meaner, than a walk through it would lead one to imagine.

Of the smaller, or less important places in the United States, I may say, that there is more uniformity, than any one unacquainted with the country would easily suppose; the reason for which is, that almost all are on the model of Philadelphia. The exceptions are principally to be found in those towns founded by the early colonists, whose want of regularity is often conspicuous. Albany, the seat of government of New York, named as well as the State in compliment to James II. when Duke of York and Albany, has two or three handsome streets. I recommend the Philadelphians who chance to stop there on their way to Niagara, to notice the capitol of that city, and see if they cannot find the

exceeding beauty of terminating a street by a fine building. If they should make this discovery, for such I must suppose it would be to them, let them thereafter be cautious of extravagant eulogiums on their own monotonous city. Penn was a man of talents, but he did not understand the art of planning cities.

Norfolk in Virginia is a town not at all remarkable for elegance, yet it pleased me from its similarity to many of our small towns, especially to my native place. Springfield in Connecticut was another town that pleased me. It is a small place with a pretty church, and was so clean, airy and cheerful-looking, that a visit to it was quite refreshing. Burlington in New Jersey standing on that noble river the Delaware, is a quiet, retired town, just fitted for one who having been engaged in active life, is desirous of terminating his days in a place, where he can have a small genteel circle of acquaintance removed from the bustle of the world. The number of private dwelling houses struck me as numerous for the size of the town. Being shaded by trees they have something of a rural aspect: the very atmosphere seemed redolent of tranquillity. It is one of the few small places

in America with an adjacent public promenade, which is on the bank of the river, and is very pleasant.

The villages are not picturesque. Instead of white-washed cottages with patches of garden ground, and honeysuckles and roses twined around the little porch, we see plain wooden houses, where nothing beyond bare convenience has been attended to. Some, perhaps most, are tolerably neat, but others are as miserable looking as those on the Yorkshire moors. When placed in the midst of fine scenery, they are however interesting. There is one on the Brandywine about six miles from Wilmington in Delaware, the name of which has escaped my recollection, which may be mentioned as an instance. Ellicot's mills near Baltimore is another. In the western parts of Maryland and the midland of Virginia, are one or two others, which would if in England be visited by our fashionable tourists, and dilated on with enthusiasm.

The complaint made against the American cities, that they have few interesting associations, is incident to every newly erected place. Yet perhaps even this complaint is scarcely well founded. Is there not something interesting for

instance in Philadelphia, in considering that within its bounds the declaration of independence was signed? That Penn there formed his celebrated treaty with the Indians? that Franklin there passed his youth and declining years? not to mention some other particulars. Is it not animating to an American when at Boston to think of Bunker's Hill? or at New York to reflect on the advantages of steam navigation first brought into successful operation there? And after all, who can wish a more cheering association, than that springing from the fact, that only about a century and a half ago, all was wilderness and savage life, where flourishing cities now stand, and civilization with all its kindness and heart-felt sympathies prevails? Nay, even fifty years ago, Baltimore, now containing sixty thousand inhabitants, and so many specimens of architectural beauty, was only an insignificant village. What a proud triumph obtained by civilized, industrious man! These associations, if not so poetical as those connected with some of the events of antiquity, are at least as cheering. The rising sun has not the glorious radiance of the setting sun; but who does not rejoice at seeing darkness give place to light?

CHAPTER III.

MODES AND CONVENIENCES OF TRAVELLING.

On the principal rivers there are very fine steam-packets, agreeing with ours in every respect, except in there being no difference in the charge between the fore and aft cabin, and of course no separation between the genteel part of society, and the less polished. Republican notions of equality may contribute to this want of separation, but a more probable reason for it is, that it has been adopted in consequence of the stage-coaches having no seats for outside passengers, thus accustoming all classes to travel together without regard to station in life. Whatever may be the cause, considerable benefits result from it. The wealthy merchant, the learned lawyer, and the independent gentlemen, are likely to feel sympathy and respect for their less fortunate neighbours when they meet on the same footing; and to repress haughty deportment or manifestations of superiority. The poor learn to avoid that crouching so common to the poor in most parts of Europe, while, at the same time, the asperities of their manners and tempers are cor-

rected by the example of those who have been taught to conciliate by gentleness and courtesy.

The coaches I have said carry no outside passengers, the alleged reason for which is, that the roads are not smooth enough to render outside travelling safe. This is true of most of the roads but not of all. In the neighbourhood of Boston, in Long Island, and between Philadelphia and Trenton, are roads sufficiently compact and level. How it is, that the coach proprietors on these and other good roads do not start coaches on the English model I cannot explain. None of the stage-coaches have any approach to stylishness; many of them are little adapted to secure the passengers from the inclemencies of the weather, having only leather curtains to exclude the wind and rain. In the winter, the better sort are padded with woollen cushions. The coach-box being nearly on a level with the seats, the driver can hear what passes in conversation between the passengers, when these cushions are removed, and the leather curtains only are left. In the newly settled parts, and in the bye-roads of the older, the traveller must content himself as well as he can in a light, tilted waggon, in which, if the road be rough, he will experience a jolting painful to flesh and bones. Great command of

temper is necessary for one, who after being accustomed to smooth roads and easy carriages, is for the first time seated in one of these waggons when travelling on what is technically called a gridiron road, that is, a road formed as that between St. Petersburg and Moscow originally was, of trunks of trees, placed across from side to side, covered with a layer of soil. On such a road, I have found the jolting so great as to knock my head violently against the sides and top of the vehicle, besides its making my hip-bones quite sore. What was the torture of Sisyphus compared to this! The man who can endure it without peevishness is a practical philosopher worthy of being ranked with the Stoics. I cannot give a person who has travelled in France, a better idea of American conveyances, than by saying they are much on a par with the French. On the other hand, the New York hackney-coaches are as superior to those of Paris or London, as English stage-coaches are to French. Post-chaises have not yet been introduced.

The inns, or taverns as in many districts they are called, are correspondent to the roads by which they stand. Where but few travellers pass, they are as destitute of comfort as can be well supposed. Large rooms without carpets or

other covering for the floor, the windows with broken panes of glass, the chairs and tables dirty, the chambers crowded with ten or a dozen beds having no curtains; these are the common characteristics. In the more frequented roads, the accommodations are of course better; and in many places so good, that the complainer of them is unreasonable, proving himself to be of a discontented, grumbling disposition. In the principal cities, the accommodations are equal to those to be found in our commercial towns: though there are no taverns in America furnished in the splendid style of the hotels of Bath, Edinburgh and Brighton. Such establishments could not at present succeed.

The usual reception the traveller finds at the inns, is that of cold civility; but the landlord and the waiter, though not obsequious, are generally sufficiently attentive. Some things in country places a little discomposed me at first, but resolving to act on the adage of doing at Rome as Rome does, and not suffer trifles to fret me, I found that I soon lost the sense of uneasiness. At Schenectady I requested to have a jug of water in my bed-room, but after waiting for some time and not receiving it, I resolved to get it for myself. The bar-keeper stared at me

with some surprize, for which I knew not how to account; but I afterwards observed that stage-coach passengers were expected to wash below. In small villages, this is the common practice; and I had sometimes to wipe on a towel which perhaps a dozen persons had used before me. Complaint would probably have been taken in ill part. I should have been considered troublesome, and perhaps told that if dissatisfied, I might look for other quarters. As to the beds, a point of great consequence to a traveller, I found it best not to be too particular. In several places, I had only one sheet, in others the sheets appeared to have been slept in several times since washing. But the worst is, that in many places several beds are placed in one room, and without regard to the feelings of the guests, or in any way consulting their desires, they are shown to them indiscriminately. At a tavern in North Carolina, I was shown to a bed into which a young man was about to enter, though no enquiry had been made of me if I had any objection to a bedfellow. I recognized him as a journeyman carpenter who was at work on the premises, a decently dressed, clean young fellow; but as I knew nothing of him, I was determined to sit up all night rather than share the bed with him. It had not entered their heads that I

should object! however, on enquiring if I could not be accommodated with a bed to myself, they managed, after manifesting some surprise, to let me have one. I made my request in as polite a manner as possible, considering that if I affronted either the journeyman or the host, I might have to regret my presumption. At Rochester in New York, having occasion to remain several days, I secured a room with only one bed in it to myself, when lo! on retiring one night, I found my bed preoccupied. I had learnt enough of American inns to know the trouble I should fall into by making much complaint; accordingly, on an apology being made, I took another in a triple-bedded room without enquiry as to the occupants of the other two beds. Seldom is a bed room door fitted up with either lock or bolt; however, I felt no fear, and never lost any thing. Notwithstanding what I have stated, I can truly say, that in by far the greater number of the inns I stopped at, I found comfort, civility and attention. But then I endeavoured to give as little trouble as possible, and make myself familiar with the family of the house, the proper plan for a traveller in a foreign land. Good temper may be sometimes requisite: indeed without it, no person should think of leaving his native country; with it, he

may proceed easily notwithstanding occasional causes of irritation, as a steam-boat preserves its steadiness against both wind and tide.

As to meals, ordinaries are common every where. The landlord's wife or daughter generally presides at the breakfast table, but not so commonly at the dinner table. The supply of provisions at both of them is almost universally plentiful; in large towns quite luxurious. Decanters of brandy and whiskey are placed on the table. It is usual to pour a very small quantity into a glass, diluting it with water till it is quite weak. This is the most common beverage. Beer has become of late years a favourite drink, but in some parts of Virginia it is not to be obtained either in draught or bottled. Cyder of excellent quality is as common as in Normandy. Peach-brandy and apple-brandy are much used in some districts, and when properly diluted are palatable and wholesome. The dinner ordinary has almost every thing to recommend it except conversation, which according to American notions is unnecessary to the enjoyment of dinner; so completely sensual are they at that meal. The bell rings. A rush ensues. The table is surrounded by guests who devour rather than eat what is before them, as if business were so ur-

gent, that not a moment was to be lost. Each one rises as he finishes, and without waiting for the rest of the company, leaves the table with a precipitation as if he feared an infection. I used often to be the last to rise, not being able to eat so ravenously as is common.

Besides the public taverns, there are in many parts what are called houses of private entertainment, being houses where the traveller, who has no objection to take his meals with the family, and conform in every respect to their habits, may find himself comfortable. To a pedestrian like myself, they are very acceptable. One of the best houses that I stopped at in the whole country was of this description. It was in the heart of Virginia, and so remote from any town, that I little expected in such a situation to find a house elegantly furnished. It being dark when I entered, the sun having set about an hour, and I a humble pedestrian, I was fearful I might find some difficulty in removing any suspicions which might arise from the visit of a solitary traveller at such an hour. But when I inquired if I could have a night's lodging, no difficulties were started. My host soon began to inquire where I was from, and on my telling him I was an Englishman, he spoke with so

much respect of my country and its institutions, that I took the opportunity of giving him my favourable opinions of America. The conversation was to our mutual satisfaction. After supper he gave out a hymn, which his wife and daughters joined in singing. They were members of that useful but despised body, the Wesleyan Methodists. On getting to my bed chamber, I found it was one which for neatness and comfort would have done credit to any European city; yet this was in the mountainous district of Virginia, and surrounded by forests! But what pleased me the best was to find a book-case well stored with choice authors; a luxury I had not enjoyed for some weeks previous, except at a private house at Charlottesville to which I was introduced by letter. Besides these houses it is easy in many remote parts to obtain a meal or a night's lodging at a farm-house, and in some instances, the parties who accommodate the traveller refuse to receive any compensation. A farmer's wife in a remote part of Virginia told me that they had often entertained travellers, and were willing still to afford reasonable accommodation; but that they never had taken any remuneration, and should think it beneath them to do so. I met only a single instance of repulsiveness, and that I could not be surprised at;

for the house being situated off the high road, and it being after nightfall when I called, the farmer might justly view me with suspicion or fear. He gave me a direction to a tavern distant about two miles; but having to track my path through a thick wood, I again lost my way and knew not what to do. I began to think I must climb a tree to sleep in; but after toiling up a steep hill, where my way was impeded at almost every step, I got sight of a distant light. When I reached the house where it was, I roused the people from their beds, and got a clear direction to the tavern, which was not far off. At this tavern, I obtained a supper as well as a bed, the landlord not having retired to rest.

I have mentioned my pedestrianism; but the fact is, that I traversed the country in a variety of ways, a plan proper to be pursued by every one desirous of knowing what are the feelings, habits and condition of the different classes. I saw the impolicy of confining to one mode, by learning the opinions of a New York gentleman respecting England, through which he travelled in a private carriage. He was evidently a man of extensive reading and considerable study; but as for real knowledge of the people of England, he might as well have never left his na-

tive city. He had formed such erroneous opinions, as in one of his candid and enquiring mind, I could only attribute to want of opportunity for acquiring such as would be more consonant to correctness. For myself, if my opinions of America be incorrect, it must be attributed to my prejudice, to my want of discrimination or some similar cause, for as to opportunity for forming right judgment, I walked in different directions upwards of six hundred miles, stopping as occasions offered to ask questions at the houses of the poor, to converse with negro slaves and labourers, and to ascertain the feelings of the middle class of the community on the government, laws and institutions of the land. A considerable part was visited in gigs and private carriages of gentlemen who interested themselves in my behalf. Steam-boats and stage-coaches conveyed me the chief part of the distance; and I went for two hundred miles on the Erie canal in a packet-boat towed by horses. The latter conveyance though tedious was preferable to a rough road. Going by night as well as by day at the rate of three miles and a half in the hour, my progress was faster than by confining to day-travelling in the stage-coach. Travelling by canal is not the way to see the beauties of the country; but in the present instance,

I was glad that I availed myself of the passage-boat, since it threw me into company of a number of gentlemen of high standing in the legal profession. The Supreme Court of the State of New York which had been sitting at Utica, broke up on the morning of the day I got thither. In consequence lawyers and their clients crowded the boat; and it being autumn, we had besides, several country dealers who had been to Albany and New York to purchase their winter stocks. Having been but a short time in the country, I informed several of them of my being a foreigner, requesting at the same time to be informed of several particulars. These were readily communicated, and my attention was from time to time called to objects worthy notice. Owing to the great number of passengers, beds could not be provided for all; accordingly several, of whom I was one, had to sit by the fire all night. The time passed pleasantly in conversation till two o'clock in the morning, when one of the hammocks giving way, several were roused from sleep. One of them jumped up, and offered me the use of a mattrass on which he had been lying; for in addition to the births, and hammocks suspended from the deck, mattrasses were placed on benches and tables for some to repose on with-

but undressing. I accepted his offer and slept soundly till daylight. Though the boat was too much crowded to be comfortable, yet it was very agreeable to me to meet such a motly company, and mark their behaviour and conversation. Some of them sat down to cards; but the rallyings of the counsel on a judge who joined a whist party broke up nearly all the games.

In my stage-coach journies, I frequently fell into agreeable company. On one occasion, I travelled several stages with a religious zealot who wore his beard, a man who however had as much pleasantry in conversation as most. Whether it was his singularity that turned our thoughts to the subject of religion, or whether it was his wish to introduce it as a topic I do not know, but we talked of nothing else for the greater part of the way. He enforced his opinions with less dogmatism than many persons of a similar stamp, and with thorough good humour till his beard was alluded to. I believe he felt that his deviation from common practice was untenable on a religious basis, and was therefore reluctant to be put on the defensive. The commandment to observe the sabbath-day brought on an astronomical discussion which was not conducted with equal temper, one of the party

being quite offended at one of his notions being rejected. Exclusive of this, the journey was amusing and agreeable; and to me who was studying the character of American citizens, particularly useful. On another occasion, I had as fellow passenger a gentleman who had travelled extensively in the south of Europe. His comparisons of the United States with Spain and Italy were valuable to me. He had never been in England; but I told him that I had; so we had a good opportunity for forming right estimates of national advantages. Several hours after, another passenger began to guess what State I was from. He fixed on New York; but when after a little concealment, I told him what countryman I was, he was greatly surprised; a circumstance pleasing to me, since it showed that I had learnt enough of the manners and sentiments of the country to talk freely of it in the assumed character of a native without betraying my secret; an attainment more difficult than some who have never been from home would suppose.

In voyaging from Norfolk to Richmond by the steam-packet, I made acquaintance with the Spanish consul whom I found an intelligent, educated man. From his long residence in the

United States, I attached importance to his remarks. This voyage was one of the most interesting I made. The number of passengers might be about sixty, about one-third of whom were foreigners, there being persons from eight different countries. I found out and made this circumstance known, when it excited a lively interest. To learn the opinions of persons from so many different countries, of that in which they were, was both entertaining and instructive. I think it right to add that all spoke more favourably than otherwise. I was conversing with some Germans when a Dane who spoke their language with tolerable fluency joined us. We became quite in high glee; but whatever laughs were made at American peculiarities, there was no other than a cordial feeling to the citizens in general.

I have now perhaps written more than enough to show what the traveller in America may expect to meet; yet I think it right to add that in many places, I found tavern-keepers who showed me a kindness beyond that required by their calling. This probably arose from the familiarity I constantly adopted. Though in England I had not been in the habit of conversing with persons in their station in a similar

manner, I considered that it was best in America not only to conform to established customs, but to avail myself of every chance of learning something new and confirming or correcting what I had learnt. The plan I found had its advantages. The hostess of the house at which I stopped at Buffalo on Lake Erie, gave me an interesting account of the skirmishes in Canada during the late war. Not only was her conversation pleasing, but her manners were soft and considerably refined. A widow at a solitary house distant about seven miles from Buffalo communicated some particulars of the Indians in the vicinity. She was an animated woman; and though removed from society by her remote situation, one who knew how to demean herself with great propriety. She begged that if I should ever go that road again I would give them a call. This was not spoken in reference to her wishing my custom, but to show her friendly feeling to a foreigner. I was sensible of it by her tone and manner. The landlord of an inn in Connecticut answered my enquiries respecting the Shakers, who have a settlement near his house; and seemed both capable and ready to give me information of every sort respecting the vicinity. One of his daughters was beautiful and fascinating. I held a long conver-

sation with her, and found her quite intelligent. The morning I spent at this house is one to which I recur with pleasure. At the inn at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, I met a gentleman and his wife from Tennessee; they, the mistress of the house and her daughter, with myself, passed a sociable evening together conversing principally on literary topics. The master who had been from home, returned on the following morning. He was a Protestant, his wife and daughter Catholics. All of them behaved in an agreeable manner; and made me feel as if I were at home. His bookcase contained some valuable historical works of which while I staid I made good use. Books are so scarce in most country places in America, that when I happened of a few, I found myself as refreshed as after bathing in cold water in a hot day.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEN.

In the remarks I am about to make on the men, I shall confine myself principally to their habits and behaviour, reserving some remarks on their character to a future chapter.

One of the first things that strikes the attention of a stranger in America, is the coldness and apparent heartlessness with which they greet an acquaintance. Their deportment is quite chilling. Yet it is soon perceptible that this arises not so much from apathy as from habit. It is however proper to observe that the Virginians are to be exempted from this particular, since they are not at all backward to manifest their feelings. Of the men in general it is notwithstanding to be said, that they never show that boisterousness of manner so common with the Irish. In their houses, they lounge when seated, in a way which in some other countries, would be viewed as quite indecorous. It is quite common even in company to lean back in the chair so as to let it stand on its hind legs;

and when in this position near a fire, they will sometimes place their feet against the mantle piece. Imagine a man sitting in this manner with a segar in his mouth, and you have a complete picture of American independence! So general, and indeed almost universal is the habit of lounging, that I noticed in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts sitting at Boston, counsellors when engaged in a cause leaning back in the way I have described; and at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, legislators with their legs stretched on the writing desk before them! The same habits I noticed in courts of justice in several other states, and in the House of Representatives at Washington. True it is that there are many gentlemen who are careful to avoid lounging, more especially in company, but they are exceptions to the generality.

The dirty, disagreeable practice of snuff taking, so prevalent in Europe, is but little in vogue: but then smoking and chewing tobacco, both nearly as bad, are very general. The idea of the soothing tendency, and consequent utility of smoking in concentrating thought, is urged in its favour, but chiefly by those who think, or at least reason but little. The most active minds need not its assistance. Bonaparte never smoked.

The use of quids is in my opinion as indefensible as smoking. Like dram-drinking it may operate on the animal spirits, but like that be injurious except in a few special cases. But my chief objection to it is, that it is disliked by females. Surely there is a strange want of attention to them on the part of those men who chew tobacco, since they are all averse to it. Those who do so must frequently spit, it not being pleasant to swallow the juice. What is the consequence? Why that carpets, fire-places, and stair-cases bear marks of the stains. The pews in many places of worship are discoloured by the tobacco juice, though the stricter professions deny themselves the indulgence of a quid during service time. Perhaps I ought not to censure the Americans for spitting on floors and carpets, as the French who value themselves on the scrupulosity of their attentions to the minute points of behaviour, do the same thing: but it is a habit very offensive to me. In reference to this subject, let me mention how diverted I was at the reluctance of some persons to admit that they were chargeable with the habit at all. Conversing with a gentleman in Philadelphia on the state of society in America, he requested me to mention any unpleasant habits that I had noticed amongst them; when I named this of spitting on the floor. He could not allow

that such a habit existed, for if it did, he must, he said, have noticed it. But when I assured him that I had noticed it in every part where I had been, and in genteel families too, he was obliged to yield the point. I was in a lecture-room, at Ovid in New York, the floor of which was as wet, as if a watering-pot had been used to lay the dust: this was occasioned entirely by the spitting of the men.

In the principal cities, proper attention is paid to personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; but in many parts of the country, considerable neglect is apparent. I found it needful to carry a piece of soap constantly with me, as the article is hardly ever to be found at inns on the road. Even in genteel private houses, I have noticed occasionally a want of it. I have slept in a room furnished in the first style, where this necessary article was omitted. Little matters of this kind are sometimes more elucidatory of the habits of a people, than formal dissertations. Let me therefore mention that I went into a draper's shop at Fredericsburg in Virginia to purchase a nightcap, but no such thing was to be had. I tried at a second, and was told that no dealer in the town kept nightcaps, as the people did not use them. At Richmond I obtained one.

The men everywhere are less attentive to the softer sex than social happiness requires. When in visiting parties, they are of course more attentive than at other times, but they seem on such occasions rather desirous of gaining the favourable opinion of the ladies by affected ease and sprightliness, than by those minute attentions, which when in union with cheerfulness, are considered by us as the best recommendations. They make a great mistake in supposing that women dislike rational conversation. Chesterfield with all his knowledge of the world fell into the same mistake. It certainly is not to be wished that mathematics or metaphysics should be discussed in their company; but polite literature in its various departments may be introduced with great propriety. Topics of this kind are as agreeable to young ladies of cultivated minds, as everlasting criticisms on the best dancers, or witticisms on the blunders and awkwardness of others. The American gentlemen when convinced of this, and disposed to try the experiment, will find that it has at least this advantage in it, that it will be beneficial to them, even if it should chance to be insufficiently alluring to the ladies; a result I do not anticipate. If it be true, as I was several times assured, that the ladies prefer Europeans to their own country-

men, may it not be in part attributed to the superior respect paid to their understandings by the former? What sensible young lady admires being treated as if she were only a dressed doll?

In their intercourse with each other the men are easy and polite. The coldness shown in salutation to which I alluded before, soon gives place to more genial behaviour. And if they have not the tinsel of compliment, or the most refined address, they have what is of incomparably more value, a disposition to promote the kindly feelings by anticipations of the wishes of others. If their introductory deportment does not raise expectations, their conduct after is sure to gratify: the essence of politeness they eminently possess.

It is proper to say something of the labouring class of society, who have generally been represented as a rude, undisciplined set. I met now and then with a rude fellow, but I must say that in general they are civil and respectful though not crouching. I asked a bricklayer who was at work in Washington which was the way to the Catholic church. He immediately laid down his trowel, and walked with me for some distance till we came in sight of it, fearful that if he gave

me only an oral direction, I should be puzzled to find it. I walked one day about ten miles with a journeyman tailor whom I overtook on the road, and observed that in talking with me on different subjects, he showed a correctness of behaviour, highly creditable to one whose means of improvement had evidently been scanty. He was a Jersey man. More rudeness, or at any rate more latitude in behaviour, is observable in the Irish labourers in America than in the natives, the reason for which is I presume, that considering themselves in the land of liberty, they may assume any airs with impunity. Work is so easily to be had, that they do not mind being paid off. That the poor in general are not inattentive to behaviour, is evident from the manners of children. When walking in the unfelled native forest, I have been surprised by the boys touching their hats, and the girls curtseying to me, as I passed the log house of their parents.

CHAPTER V.

THE WOMEN.

The condition of women is in all countries a matter of great interest, since it is indicative of the state of civilization and happiness of the men. It is only in countries highly civilized that women are placed in their proper station, and treated as they deserve. In the savage state, they are regarded as beasts of burden; in a semi-civilized state, they are often valued only as ministers of sensual gratification. During the chivalrous ages, they were idolized, but assuredly not made so happy as in a more advanced state of society. It is only when women are treated as rational beings, when neither brutal neglect nor idolatrous submission are shown in the behaviour of men, that their virtues expand and produce all that harmony and decorum, without which life is like a garden overrun with weeds and wild-flowers, having few charms and no fragrance. The women in America are less influential than they should be, the reason for which is, that they are brought up with too much re-

serve. Modesty and retiredness are however such great charms in the female character, that I shall give my objections with caution and I hope with suitable diffidence. In the United States it necessarily happens, that by far the greater part of the community have but little leisure. It is therefore very desirable that those hours which a young man can call his own, should be employed in cultivating his mind, and moulding his disposition to what is amiable. Now both these objects are promoted by an acquaintance with educated young women. The desire of pleasing operates so powerfully, that a youth possessing the advantage of their acquaintance, soon learns to apply to mental improvement lest they should despise him for his ignorance. The development of his faculties is attended by an improvement of manners, and the improvement of manners produces a correspondent improvement of temper and disposition. Of course, I do not mean that these are the invariable results, but that the causes are adequate to their production. But owing to the restraint imposed on females in America, it is seldom that a young man is fortunate enough to enjoy their society without being suspected of more than common friendship. Of this, I was myself an instance. When at New York I became acquainted with the

family of a merchant in whose society I took great delight, and knowing that my intimacy with them must soon cease, I was their frequent visiter. But what was my surprise when I was one day informed by a gentleman, that it was reported on 'change that I was likely to marry one of them before I embarked for England! A similar report was raised of an English gentleman resident at Washington, though a mutual friend of the parties told me that he believed neither of them had any idea of such a thing. Now it is evident that if a greater degree of freedom were allowed, reports of this nature would not so often occur to check familiar intercourse. It may be said, that the intimacy and love subsisting between brothers and sisters, are quite sufficient to produce all the good, without any of the disadvantages, of the greater freedom I am advocating. To this I reply, that invaluable as is the company of sisters to a young man, it seldom produces that spirit of improvement which I have mentioned as the consequence of a more extended acquaintance with the female sex. Sisters may correct faults and foibles in their brothers, but they cannot so easily produce in them a captivating grace. A young man is satisfied with the esteem and affection of his sisters, but likes to be admired by other young la-

dies; and without the desire to please be excited in early life, the attempt in a subsequent period, generally proves a partial failure.

In all places of public resort, except those of amusement where the company is select, the American ladies are chary both in their deportment and language. The practice of conversing freely and instantaneously as the French do, with persons who are entire strangers, is what shocks their ideas of female delicacy and reserve. But in their own private circles, they are as communicative and free as can be desired. Though they have not the enthusiasm of the Irish, nor the sprightliness of the French, they are exceedingly to be admired, as they possess in a supereminent degree, that softness which throws so much grace over feminine actions, and when united with good sense makes the strongest impression on the heart. Another trait, and a most interesting one it is, is the confidence they repose on those with whom they are familiar. They manifest no desire to conceal under the garb of affectation, that warmth of heart which women in every country but France are said to possess. What is much to their credit, they will without hesitation, when a topic is introduced of which they chance to be ignorant, request in-

formation in the most artless manner. This renders them very fascinating. A French girl thinks herself qualified to say something on every point: an English girl does not like to talk on subjects she does not understand, but will not ask for information, lest she should betray her ignorance: an American girl will confess her ignorance, and desire to be put in possession of such materials as may enable her to talk. There is no difficulty in deciding which of the three act most conformably to reason, and become in consequence the most agreeable. Certain it is, that Europeans from different countries concur in admitting that no ladies are more captivating than the American. A German in Philadelphia with whom I was conversing respecting them, spoke quite in raptures of their amiability, and told me he believed I should not leave the country without taking a wife home with me, a point however in which he happened to be mistaken. And yet, I believe few women make better wives; all of them being, as far as I could ascertain, instructed in domestic management, a very commendable regulation; for a woman who knows not how to superintend the concerns of her houshold, is like a watch without its hands, deficient in that which is indispensable to usefulness. If in any part of the country, this is neglected, it is in the Slave States. The rich

planters keep female housekeepers, who take that part which it would be advantageous to their daughters to be capable of doing themselves. Accustomed from early life to be attended by slaves, they acquire habits of laziness both mental and corporeal, which the heat of the climate disposes them to continue. The little exertion they are capable of making is truly surprising. A walk of a mile or two for recreation is what they cannot think of. It appears as formidable to them as a lesson in Greek does to a school-boy. The description given by Thomson, of some of the inmates of his Castle of Indolence, may be applied to them:

> "Their only labour is to kill the time,
> And labour dire it is, and weary woe,
> They sit, they loll, turn o'er some idle rhyme;
> Then rising sudden to the glass they go,
> Or saunter forth with tottering step and slow:
> This soon too rude an exercise they find;
> Straight on the couch their limbs again they throw,
> Where hours on hours they sighing lie reclined,
> And court the vapoury God soft breathing in the wind."

Notwithstanding this inaction they are amiable, and in conversation quite as volatile as their northern neighbours.

It is neither in the ball-room, the theatre, nor the card-party, that the American ladies are seen to most advantage. It is, and may it long con-

tinue to be the case, in their own domestic circle that we must meet them, to enjoy their company and witness the full display of their genuine characters. The man admitted to their society at their own homes, must be insensible to the most refined feelings if he fails to experience delight. When very young, they are vivacious; but it is remarkable that their vivacity abates and gives way to a staidness of manner approaching to demureness, by the time they reach the middle period of life. Whether this change is produced by the climate or their habits, I do not pretend to know: perhaps both may have their influence. Their complexion also undergoes a change. The ruddiness of youth gives way to paleness by the time they arrive at puberty, and is succeeded by sallowness. In figure they appear to great advantage. Finer forms nature never produced than are to be found in America. If any thing is wanting to complete the outline, it is in the bosom which is too flat; yet if Pygmalion had seen such forms, he would never have become enamoured of his statue. They dress neatly and elegantly, so that their fine figures are shown to great advantage. They copy the French fashions rather more than the English, and seem to unite the elegance of each.

When walking the streets with a gentleman, single ladies are not accustomed to accept his arm, lest they should be considered forward; a particular in which they correspond with the Welsh and the Irish, as well as with some of the nations of continental Europe. After sunset, or when they stand engaged, they are less scrupulous. An Englishman told me that soon after his arrival in America, he called on a gentleman in Philadelphia whose daughter politely offered to conduct him to some part of the city to which he was a stranger. He gladly accepted her offer, and on leaving the door tendered her his arm, when to his surprise and mortification she declined it. He was so confounded, that making her a bow, he was about to retreat, when, calling him back, she explained to him the custom of the country, on which he apologised and walked by her side. This needless piece of refinement takes place in the middle and southern States. In New England, they manage things better. But let me state matters fairly. In Virginia, where the ladies are so exceedingly precise, that they will scarcely stop to speak a word to a gentleman in the street, they are unreserved within doors. I could not but be pleased when on entering a room to which I had before been introduced, the girls rose and offered me their hands in the kind-

est, frankest manner. The Virginians are all partial, and with reason, to a friendly shake of the hand. I must not dismiss the subject of walking without adding that their gait is ungraceful. A swing of the arm, one of the worst faults, is very common. Instead of stepping "on the light, fantastic toe," they seem as if they imitated the witches in Tam o'Shanter, on whom the music operated so as to "put life and mettle in their heels." Yet though the American ladies must rank far below those of Spain, who are considered to be the most elegant walkers in Europe, they are I think equal to the English, for though their gait is different, it is not more faulty.

The education of females in America is incomplete. Reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, with a smattering of French, and a few lessons in music and dancing, are all that even with the wealthiest are commonly thought necessary for their daughters. Now it appears to me that a popular knowledge of astronomy, chemistry and electricity might properly be added, with perhaps the elements of the higher branches of mathematics: and if a taste for moral and physical philosophy could be infused, it would have its use in checking that propensity to novel-reading which now so unfortunately pre-

vails to the exclusion of more profitable matter. The state of education in New England is superior to what I have mentioned above, Latin being made in that district part of a young lady's studies, though in my opinion with little propriety. I am not of Milton's opinion that one tongue is enough for a woman, except in the sense in which I think that the remark applies to a man. Doubtless many persons acquainted only with their vernacular language, are more intelligent and sensible than vast numbers of others more learned; yet there is so much pleasure derivable from the study of other languages, that I wish women as well as men to be partakers of it. But then a question occurs as to the superior utility of ancient or modern languages. To satisfy ourselves on this point, we must consider that the ancient languages are of far less importance than they were two centuries ago, when no information was to be gained but through their medium. We delight to read of the acquisitions of the beautiful, unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, of Queen Elizabeth, and of the daughters of Sir Thomas More. How interesting it is to find the Lady Jane giving as a reason for absenting herself from a party of pleasure, that the perusal of Plato gave her more delight than they could possibly feel from all their sport and gaiety! But had she lived

at a later period, she might have experienced a kindred feeling from authors of her own country, and have learnt Plato's arguments in an English translation. It is true that many beauties are generally lost in a translation, from the impossibility of infusing them into another language; but when we take into account the circumstance that the substance and general outline are usually faithfully preserved, and that no new works are published in Latin and Greek, we shall probably be led to the conclusion, that a young lady's time is more improved by mastering Italian and German. To one engaged in composition, an intimate acquaintance with the classics is invaluable; but to a lady who desires only to cultivate her faculties to such a degree as to render herself agreeable to others, and able to pass her time alone without experiencing the absence of company as an intolerable privation, of how much less importance are they than the works of modern writers! There are so few occasions for a woman to make use of classical attainments in company (besides the danger of subjecting herself to the imputation of pedantry), that I believe few women ever derive any benefit from the study of the dead languages. I know an Englishwoman who is well versed in Greek, who in a company of learned men where the discourse

turned on Greek literature, had not courage to take part in it lest she should be thought deficient in modesty; though she would have felt little or no scruple had the topic been the literature of France or Italy. Another point worth considering is, whether the works of Roman and Greek authors, defiled as they too generally are by impurities unfit for the eye of a chaste maiden, are suitable to form the basis of instruction in female schools. It will be said that many English authors are quite as exceptionable, and some French authors more so. But in spite of this, most productions of recent date may be taken up without fear of raising a blush on the cheek of modesty; and from those of an earlier period a good selection may be made. We have indeed of late seen the mighty genius of Byron prostituted to the base purpose of pandering to the corrupt appetites of sensualists, but we have at the same time seen a manifestation of public feeling hostile to such degradation of intellect. To the credit of the American ladies be it recorded, that since the character of Don Juan has become known, it has been proscribed. Their good sense and native modesty have made them refuse to read it. Upon the whole then, I am brought to the conclusion, that a change in the system of female education may be properly

made in New England, and that in the southern and middle States some considerable additions are requisite. With a more enlarged education, and some increase of latitude in their acquaintance with the gentlemen in the same sphere as themselves, they will become more conspicuously beneficial to their country. That their present influence is inadequate to the production of all the improvement in society which they are capable of effecting, is evident from one simple circumstance. They are universally averse to the practice of chewing tobacco, and yet cannot persuade their friends of the other sex to discontinue it.

The female poor are reared with more modest feelings than the same class in Europe. This I give as the general case, deferring a consideration of the exceptions to it to a future chapter where it will be more in place. In no instance, either at a public or private house, was I shown to my bed-room by a female servant; and considering the character of chamber-maids in England, I think the Americans have done right in establishing a custom different to ours. The daughters of the petty traders are in much the same condition as those in England. They are more retired but less animated. They are not

so much employed as shopmaids as is desirable; hence they find it difficult to obtain suitable situations. The case is different in France, and so it ought to be in England and America. To put poor girls to learn millinery, is to put their virtue to a strong test. Fondness for dress is the natural result of employing girls in making dresses; their wages are insufficient to its indulgence, and they too often become the victims of the wealthy seducer: but millinery is almost the only occupation except servitude which their parents can get for them. This is a disadvantage. Why should not women act as clerks in counting-houses? They are competent to the required duties, and would be quite in a becoming station. Why should they not be taught surgery, at least that part of it relative to parturition? In short, there are a variety of employments from which custom excludes them, though on insufficient grounds, which they would be glad to follow if public opinion were not at variance with their own. The hardship is more felt in America than with us, from the paucity of manufactories requiring female help. I am now alluding to the town population. In country villages, more especially in the western parts, spinning and weaving are done at home.

CHAPTER VI.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

It is remarked by Hume, in one of the notes in his History of England, that as luxury spreads, the hours of rising and of meals become later; and that this takes place in all countries. In America, early hours are general with all ranks, a proof that luxury has not yet had so much baneful influence as in Europe. The ball, beginning at midnight and ending at daylight, is unknown; when one is given, it is seldom continued to an unseasonable hour. Some of the fashionable follies are altogether alien, and it is to be hoped will so continue. The Americans are eminently a domestic people, and consequently a happy people; for notwithstanding all that may be urged in favour of midnight assemblies, where the young may display the charms of person and the elegance of dress, it is unquestionable, that purer happiness is to be found in the quiet domestic circle. The excitement of spirits produced by the former, is like the waves of the ocean, rising high for a moment, then sinking below the medium level; that of

the latter, is like the waters of a lake, seldom swelling beyond the natural limits, but always smooth, clear, and reflecting the light of heaven. He, whose home has not more attractions for him than extraneous pleasures, is in a distempered state, and needs a moral physician.

From the familiar intercourse I maintained with several families, I had the opportunity of entering their houses at any time, without being treated as a formal visiter; the most agreeable mode by far to me, and certainly the best to get an insight into the real character and habits of the people. The breakfast hour may be fixed at eight o'clock for cities, and something earlier for the country. Those who are fond of a substantial breakfast should visit the United States, though the Scotch and the French would probably prefer such a one as they find at home. Coffee is the usual beverage. For eatables, besides rolls and eggs, broiled fish, beef-steaks, ham, and sausages are placed on the table; and in Connecticut, cheesecake and pumpkin-pie, with cyder to drink. Buck-wheat cakes are in much estimation as a winter diet. I tried to be pleased with them, but all in vain, and fancied they did not suit my stomach. In Virginia, small cakes of wheat flour are almost universal,

instead of the solid loaf. The natives being partial to them hot, a fresh supply is brought in during the middle of the meal. Cakes made of maize are also in great request amongst them, as well as a pudding of the same material mixed with eggs. Both these are considered very wholesome; but those whose palates are unused to them seldom find them agreeable at first.

Dinner takes place at two, or seldom later than three o'clock, and nearly corresponds with ours. Soups are in much use. In Virginia and Carolina, solid joints of meat are less frequently seen, than fowls with ham and greens. Turkies are very common. I cannot say much in praise of their cookery. When I first landed, I fancied that every article on table was inferior to what I had been accustomed to at home; further experience convinced me, that the difference was mainly occasioned by the cookery. The Americans should take a few lessons from the French on this valuable science. They are particularly unskilful in making pastry. The pie is baked in a shallow dish so that it has no syrup. I did not taste a single fruit pie of prime quality. The wines commonly taken, are Claret in summer, and Madeira in winter. Dr. Johnson said that he could abstain from wine, but that when

he took it, he liked a copious draught. The Americans are more rational. The decanters are frequently removed with the cloth; if not, seldom above two or three glasses are drank after, as they are not, like the English, in the habit of sitting for an hour or two passing the bottle round; and it is earnestly to be desired that they never may. It is expensive, injurious to health, and deprives us of the company of "the sex whose presence civilizes ours." They never urge their guests to take more than is agreeable. O! that the Scotch, many of whom in the middle rank of life are prone to jollity, would generally imitate them in this. True politeness seems to dictate, that each should be left to his own free inclination. Though in this particular I approve the Americans, I think they might make their dinners more comfortable than they do. Where is the necessity of eating so rapidly, as to distance an Englishman to a degree quite perplexing? Their countryman Count Rumford gave them a lesson on this point, which has been apparently quite neglected. He knew that to enjoy a dinner properly, to obtain the flavour of the different dishes, it was necessary to eat slowly; and as our appetites are given us to be enjoyed with moderation and thankfulness, why should we deprive our-

selves of gratifications resulting from their right use? To prove how little the Americans understand the art of enjoying a dinner, it is only necessary to mention, that they take two or three sorts of vegetables on to the plate at once, thus losing the peculiar taste of each. The French and Spanish plan, of eating vegetables after meat, is preferable to this. While mentioning the dinner, let me add that the rivers abound with fish, some of which are not to be found in our waters, amongst which the Bass deserves distinction, from its being both delicate and substantial. The Sturgeon, so rare with us, is so plentiful with them, that the citizens of New York and Baltimore disregard it. The Virginians are better judges. The table is tolerably well supplied with game during the season, though they have no hares. Canvas-back ducks are shot by sportsmen in great numbers. Their flavour is so delicious, that they ought to be transported to our side of the Atlantic. But if I continue longer on the luxuries of the table, I shall be suspected for a second Apicius. I confess I am not enough of a Trappist, to think that these matters are beneath my notice. Hilarity is often as much promoted by a good dinner, as by an amusing tale: on that ground therefore, I may be excused for

the particulars I have given. I can fare hard without grumbling, when need requires; but when I meet with a good dinner, I like to eat it with a relish. I was surprised in Maryland and Virginia, to see a young lady's plate covered with a profusion, which with us would be considered fit only for a ploughman; but I afterwards noticed that it was customary never to clear the plate, I suppose under the notion of gentility. Of course, I must have been regarded as of vulgar habits, before I found this out, being in the habit of leaving nothing but bones, unless when over plentifully helped. The reason of my not at first noticing it, was owing to my having been in several States where the custom was quite different before I entered Maryland; and I had ceased to make such particular observation as I at first did, supposing that I had already learnt exactly how to conform. The dessert consists of fruits according to the season. Peaches and melons are abundant; and the apples are of a particularly fine flavour. Cherries, gooseberries and strawberries are inferior to the same fruits in England; and the grapes are too poor to be worth notice to those persons who have eaten the grapes of France or Portugal.

Tea, in which supper is included, is taken at six or seven o'clock. It is in general not quite so substantial as breakfast, but with a vast variety. Preserved fruits, in which they excel, are commonly on table, except during the season for ripe fruit, when a variety of delicious garden productions tempts the palate. Thin bread and butter is seldom met with; for nothing solid being taken after, the repast is more substantial than with us. Hard and soft biscuits and toast are usually part of it. The latter article is sometimes soaked in milk; but in this state it was far from palatable to me. With respect to this meal, what always surprised me was, though I never ventured to hint such a thing, that they should place such incongruous articles on table together: oysters and sweet cakes, strawberries and cheese placed side by side! I at first stared with wonder, and could not but regard as passing strange, that Milton's description of Eve, should never have caught the eye of one of her fair American daughters. He represents her,

> "With hospitable thoughts intent,
> What choice to mix for delicacy best,
> What order so contrived as not to mix
> Tastes not well joined, inelegant, but bring
> Taste after taste, upheld by kindliest change."

All sit round the table at the evening meal as well as at breakfast, except when there is a visiting party, in which case the servant hands the cups round to the company. In summer time, so great are the swarms of flies, that it is usual for much of the servant's time to be occupied in driving them off the table with a fly-flap.

I met with only two or three instances of supper being taken as a separate meal after tea. One was at a gentleman's house in Pennsylvania, and was I suspected partly in compliment to me as an Englishman; for he had been in England when a boy, and knew the habits of our middle classes. Another was in the family of a New York merchant, who told me it was an established custom with him.

I know that many of my countrymen after reading this account of American meals, will infer that the Americans are far from being a refined people. Such an inference would however be incorrect. No two nations correspond in all things in ideas and habits. Several of our habits are offensive to the French, and several of theirs to us. The Turks and the Persians are opposite in many things. Yet all value

themselves on their superiority to their neighbours. The Americans in my opinion, may lay claim to at least as much refinement as ourselves; in some particulars they have certainly more.

After tea, an hour or two often passes agreeably in conversation. Some of the happiest time I experienced, during my abode in the United States, was in evening conversation parties. What are routs, and balls, and assemblies, and music meetings, compared with free discourse on literary or other improving topics? Every one has his favourite pursuit or diversion, and I like one of an intellectual kind. I recur to some of these evening conversations, with a feeling consonant to that brought by the remembrance of youthful days, when all was gaiety and pleasure; but heightened in the present case by rationality. One such evening I had at the house of the Secretary of war at Washington. One of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States was present part of the time. The Secretary, who as I was assured, has risen solely by his talents, is a man of comprehensive mind, and of deportment truly gentlemanly. His countenance, which I wished to study more than I had opportunity to do, bears as strikingly the im-

press of thought as any one of Lavater's imaginary faces. The features are not exactly regular; but in their combination they are admirable. His small eyes twinkle under his dark, thick eyebrows, speaking intelligence. His forehead, though not bold, is marked by prominences indicative of the reasoning faculty. His small mouth and chin seem formed to express amiability. Perhaps I might say, that not one of the features except the chin, is handsome; yet I saw only two other faces in the whole country, that I thought equally expressive of superior intellect, one, that of a Virginian Senator in Congress seventy years old, the other that of the Chief Justice of the United States, also an old man. The Secretary I took to be about forty, rather under than over. He heard all my objections to the American Constitution with admirable patience, taking care to correct me when in error. He made various enquiries respecting England, which it gave me pleasure to answer. I met him in the street some time after, and apologised for the latitude of my remarks, which on reflection appeared to me greater than I was justified in having used. He assured me that I had given him no offence, that he did not expect foreigners to view their institutions as they did, and that he was glad to have heard my opinions.

For his candour and condescension I thus publicly thank him.

Several other of my evenings at Washington are remembered by me with pleasure, particularly two or three at the houses of some of the Presbyterian clergy. One of them was a young man of literary taste married to a pleasing Virginian lady: with them I kept up an animated conversation to a late hour. Another was one of whose company I had but little, he having some indispensable engagements; but his wife manifested such a sweet and catholic spirit, that I took leave of her with a strong feeling of esteem. She was very desirous that I should form a proper estimate of the American character. I hope it will be found that I have been successful in this respect; and if so, I may partly thank her for it, as she gave me considerable information. At the house of a third, who is a Scotchman by birth, I met a Cherokee Indian who has embraced the Christian faith. We exchanged information respecting the Indians and the English, and were I believe mutually pleased. I am sure at least that I was. He invited me to meet some of their chiefs who had come to the city on a mission from their own tribe. I gladly assented, and was introduced to two of

the shrewdest looking men I ever saw. Another, the brother of my companion, was more dignified, and not so easily read. They behaved like men under some feeling of restraint, occasioned no doubt by their endeavour to conform to civilized habits; but I soon set them more at ease, and enjoyed to witness their manners. The evening passed off quite lively.

I spent an evening at the house of a clergyman at Richmond, which was very interesting. He is considered one of the most learned men in that city and its neighbourhood. His wife had an unusual share of animation; and several young ladies of cultivated minds were of the party. We touched on divinity, poetry, national characters and other subjects, in a cursory but enlivening manner, and separated in good humour. These different visits tended more and more to confirm my favourable opinion of the Americans. After mentioning so many different evenings, it is proper to add, that in the southern States, it is customary for the heads of the family and all of advanced years, to retire into an adjoining room, leaving the young to enter into conversation, without that restraint which is always felt in the presence of their elders. In the middle and northern States, this separation is less com-

mon, though a little reflection may show its propriety. There is a passage, if I remember rightly, in Hurdis's Adriano illustrative of this.

Besides evenings like those I have described, where no formality is used, and no other restraint than that required by decorum, they have their dress and card parties. A gentleman in Philadelphia, from whom I had received various marks of kindness, requested me to call on him one evening, as he wished to introduce me to some of his friends. Without letting me know beforehand what sort of a company I was to meet, he took me to one of these dress-parties. When I entered the room and perceived about a dozen ladies in full dress, I felt a little confused. My shoes were not very clean; and my face was not so smooth as usual, owing to the razor I had used in the morning, being out of order. And when my name was mentioned, with the addition of my being an Englishman, I was in worse condition, owing to the eyes of all being turned towards me. What was to be done? To retreat was impossible. To apologise, would cause some to notice me still more minutely. I therefore placed myself, as quickly as I decently could, in one corner of the room, where I thought I should escape attention, and began conversing

with a young lady near me. However I was soon obliged to change my seat, and considering that the appearance of embarrassment was unpleasant, I put a good face upon things, and enjoyed myself probably nearly as much, as if I had gone fully prepared for company. Formal visiting parties have never had charms for me; but in the present case, the great variety of the entertainment, and the smiles of the fair, served to pass the evening pleasantly. Lemonade, wine of different sorts, ice-creams, and spirituous compounds, were handed round, as well as strawberries, raspberries, preserved peaches, sweet cakes and other delicious articles. The party broke up about eleven o'clock. On two similar occasions at New York, I was nearly as awkwardly circumstanced; but I found that a cheerful spirit carried me through with little difficulty. Why should we suffer mortification to supersede pleasure, when all around are gay? Birds whose feathers are plain, sing not the less lively tunes, for being in company with others of beautiful plumage.

It is very common in a summer's evening after the heat has subsided, for persons to sit at their doors to enjoy the cool breezes. A walk at such a time through a village or small town

is quite enlivening. The ladies are often in their best dresses, generally in white, and seem to take pleasure in showing the utmost good humour and hilarity to the gentlemen who stop to chat with them. This custom has in it something of a patriarchal or oriental character, especially in Virginia, where a stranger who receives entertainment has to wait while the cakes are made and baked. Perhaps in no part of the domestic life of the Americans, is there any thing in which their sociability and amiability are more apparent than in their summer evening parties. How delightful it is to witness the general cheerfulness! To an Englishman it is very amusing to listen to the conversation of a party sitting outside of the door, and at the same time watch the motions of the fire-flies, whose phosphoric scintillations give the air a curious appearance.

CHAPTER VII.

SPIRIT OF CONVERSATION.

A STRANGER in America may soon perceive that conversation has not been much studied as an art. The Americans converse sensibly and rationally; but they appear to have no ambition to attract attention by clever, smart, or witty sayings, like the French, or by throwing a fictitious interest over common matters by sentimental refinement, like the Germans. Like a gently-flowing limpid brook, their conversation has no turbulence, but shows every thing at the bottom at a glance. That it is deficient in energy and animation, will from this at once be conceived. It produces a feeling akin to that experienced by every one who sits down to enjoy rest after fatigue. Now I am one of those, who admire in preference, a more spirit-stirring sensation. The vehemence of the Irish is more to my taste than the calmness of the Americans. During my stay amongst them, I met not with a single individual whose colloquial talents were such as I should denominate first-rate; though there were several whom I greatly admired for one or another good quality. A lawyer at Norfolk in Vir-

ginia, to whom I had an introductory letter, showed an aptness of illustration very pleasing, and from a minute acquaintance with polite literature, was qualified to excel if he had been placed in the midst of a society of kindred minds. A clergyman in Philadelphia to whom also I had a letter, was more animated than most. He could keep the ball moving when once struck by another hand. A judge whom I met at Harrisburg was a good punster, and knew how to cause a smile by curious illustrations. He was attached to poetry, and could press allusions to it into his service so as to enliven discourse agreeably. But of all whom it was my fortune to hear, I give the first place to a man whom I met at a tavern at Providence in Rhode Island. He was neither learned nor witty, but had so great a share of pleasantry joined to so much ingenuity in argument, that he kept the whole company listening as if afraid to lose a syllable. I grappled with him once or twice, but he slipped from my grasp like an eel, instantly making two or three involutions in his own sophisms, before I could tell where he had escaped to. He was a Connecticut man, a circumstance which I mention, as the people of that state are regarded by the Virginians as deficient in fancy, and probably with considerable truth as compar-

ed with themselves. If conversation be better practised in one State than another, I am inclined to think that that State is Virginia.

The colloquial topics introduced into American circles are too few. Politics engross too much attention: polite literature too little. The merits of the last new poem may be discussed; the beauties of a novel may be expatiated on; but if a person ventures to introduce higher subjects, he subjects himself to be branded for a pedant. In mixed companies, it is indeed proper and almost necessary, to exclude abstruse subjects; but when a select party of educated persons takes place, a wide and nearly boundless range may be suitably allowed. The question as to the next governor or president, how important soever to the community, is not the one best adapted for mental improvement or social delight. The ephemeral productions of the press, are commonly less interesting than those of permanent reputation. It may therefore be advantageous to society in America, when the fear of the imputation of pedantry, will no longer prevail to the exclusion of topics of more importance, requiring some intellectual exertion. Of course it must not be supposed, that such matters are now proscribed entirely. All that I wish to convey is, that it seems to be regarded as treason to

good behaviour, to descant on subjects in company, which may chance to be tedious or disagreeable to some of those present, and that this fastidiousness is injurious to the spirit of conversation, and tends to damp the ardour of the youthful mind. In a circle exclusively literary, the shackles are broken, and the spirit roams at large.

Of the scrupulosity used in promiscuous company, let me mention an instance or two, illustrative of what I have stated. We were on one occasion conversing in a desultory manner, when the French Revolution was alluded to. A gentleman who sat next to me, whispered something about the Pursuits of Literature, as if fearful the ladies should condemn him for rudeness, for making reference to a book, which they might reasonably be supposed never to have seen. If he had wished to call my attention to any doctrine in Helvetius or Malebranche, I should have approved his discretion; but I confess it seems scarcely consonant to proper respect for our company, to suppose that the mention of a work like the Pursuits of Literature, a work containing no elaborate disquisitions, should be regarded as displeasing. On another occasion, I was in a company consisting of more than a

dozen educated persons, at least sufficiently educated to enter on an examination of many improving and interesting matters, when for two hours, I heard not a single remark worth remembering. The only thing beyond mere chit-chat, was a little talk on the war between France and Spain, and that was soon dismissed. In one pretty large company to which I was invited, I resolved to try the experiment of deviating from the beaten track. The consequence was, that as the prospect enlarged we felt sensations of a new kind, like the man who, as Milton expresses it, in populous city pent, finds every object in a rural walk delightful. After the company broke up, a gentleman came and thanked me for the gratification he had experienced, assuring me that it was quite a novelty. Neither he nor any other person would have ventured to make such an inroad on established customs. It is evident therefore, that the regulations for conversation may be relaxed with benefit. I believe that not a single person in the company, male or female, regretted the change. All appeared pleased, and I doubt not were so.

I wish however in this point to be clearly understood. I am not so cynical as to condemn all trifling, nor so circumscribed in my ideas, as to

suppose that we should always be philosophizing. Human life is made up of little things, and if a smile can be called forth by something insignificant in itself, it is surely folly to be always aiming at objects of magnitude. But then, I am opposed to the disposition to confine the conversations of adults, to the limits of children's capacity. And I wish when conversation fit for men is introduced, that it should neither be tiresome nor heartless. Good conversation, like generous wine, cheers the spirits and invigorates the frame.

Perhaps there is no part of conversation in which the Americans are more deficient, than in the art of telling a tale. Like a painter who is unskilled in perspective, they fail in giving due relief: the inferior and subordinate parts become too conspicuous. All this I can excuse; but there is one thing which I must condemn. Some words have two or three meanings, and when it happens that one of them conveys an idea of something vulgar, or of something too gross for polite ears, it must not according to their delicate notions be used at all! I cannot with propriety cite examples; but a little consideration will be sufficient to understand me. In most European countries, if my information be correct, some

things are too often called by plain names. But when there is nothing in expressions to raise the blush of modesty, or offend the ear of chastity, or violate correct taste, it seems preposterous to reject them, merely because, if used in another sense than that in which they are obviously applied, they would convey a disagreeable idea. Unless an attention to delicacy be observed in conversation, it is evident that there cannot long remain that happy familiarity between the young of both sexes, which conduces so greatly to their mutual improvement. But when under the idea of delicacy, words are proscribed simply because they have two senses, one of them being such as no person would use in company, the very evil sought to be avoided is liable to be produced. But this is not all. Such is the refinement of language in America, that an Englishman accustomed to genteel life, and taught to use the most polished phrases, may use expressions which in England would be suffered in any society, but which in America would subject him to the imputation of vulgarity. I was apprised of this circumstance by an intelligent Scotchman, who has resided some years at Baltimore, and who related some humourous instances, that had come under his own observation. Feeling myself unwilling to offend, I became very care-

ful in the selection of my words. But it sometimes happened, that I inadvertently used such as are considered unwarrantable. To apologise for them would only have added to the error; I was therefore several times obliged to hint, that different practices prevailed in the two countries in reference to the use of words. With all the care I used, I may sometimes have transgressed. What Englishman for example, would have an idea of there being an impropriety in remarking of a lady, that she has a well-shaped ancle? Yet this would be too gross for American ears; while to say that she had a handsome leg, would be intolerable. Even to make mention of a shirt is enough to subject a person to the charge of vulgarity and indelicacy. It is however to be noted, that it is principally in the southern States, that so much squeamishness is apparent. The Scotchman whom I just mentioned, gave me some specimens of this sort of squeamishness so exceedingly ludicrous, that I should like to repeat them, if real delicacy did not forbid. Several nearly equal to them, were shown in different companies where I was present, but they must not be put into print. What would Dean Swift have said to such things? A little observation may satisfy any one, that the most fastidious are not always the most refined.

Swift was neither the one nor the other. His pleasure was to revile human nature, by representing man as fond of grossness as a hog of wallowing in mire; yet his satiric shaft sometimes aimed at the opposite extreme. He would have found fine quarry in the fashionable circles of Virginia and Carolina.

As the strictness which I have mentioned must be observed in conversation, so must it be attended to in reading to a company from any popular author. I unwittingly subjected myself once or twice to a glance of surprise, for reading passages perfectly unexceptionable. I believe that no difficulty would be felt in an English circle with any of Walter Scott's poems, but there are several passages in Marmion and the Lady of the Lake which it would be unadvisable to read to American ladies. The animated stanza in Burns's Vision beginning,

"Down flowed her robe, a tartan sheen,"

is one which I was obliged to skip lest I should be guilty of offending. I cannot believe that any necessity exists for the upholding of so much scrupulosity, though I should be exceedingly reluctant to forego the advantages of that seemly delicacy, without which conversation becomes

offensive, leaving like the slime of the snail the track of impurity.

But whatever may be the defects and errors of American conversation, it would be unjust to deny it the praise of decorum. Great care is taken to avoid hurting the feelings of any one. When a dissentient opinion is expressed, it is done with mildness. That bold and decisive opposition, which has been supposed part of the national character of the English, is rejected as being too rude for civilization. I speak of the educated part of the community, but with some qualification it applies to the whole. In no country probably, taking the people in their collective capacity, is there more decorum in conversation, than in the United States.

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CHAPTER VIII.

INTELLIGENCE.

THE Americans have a current saying, that they are the most enlightened people on earth, and Congress actually passed a resolution to that effect many years ago! What a people assert of themselves is entitled to attention. Let us therefore examine how far we may yield credence to this assertion.

That the Americans in proportion to their numbers, have not so many learned and scientific men as several European countries, is a position that will scarcely be disputed, even by themselves. Their meaning therefore must be, either, that the mass of people have more information diffused among them, than the mass of other nations, or, that there is in the lower and middling classes, a greater proportion of enlightened minds, than is to be found in other lands. To ascertain the correctness of these opinions, we must know the extent and state of education. In the northern and middle States, the rudiments of learning are communicated to most of the poor; but in Virginia, Maryland and North

Carolina, different indeed is the state of things; for ignorance prevails to a lamentable extent. Even in Pennsylvania, where great attention has been given to the education of the poor, instruction is not given to all. This I learnt from the Report for the present year 1823, of the controllers of one of the school districts in that State. But supposing that education were more general than it is, it would not prove the Americans to be a more enlightened people than the Germans or the Scotch, as the proper criterion is, how the little acquired at school, is improved afterwards. Children may be taught to read and write; but unless they use their attainments, the benefit is nearly nugatory. In New York and Philadelphia, possibly in one or two other places, there are libraries for the special use of Apprentices. I examined one of them, and was pleased to find a very judicious selection from practical and standard English authors. But in villages and small towns, almost the only book read is the Bible. The newspapers circulated are however exceedingly numerous; so that I believe the poor are generally well informed on subjects of domestic policy. From their migratory habits, they are also tolerably well acquainted with the geography of the country. But on other subjects, they are as ignorant as the poor of Spain

or Russia, though certainly not quite so superstitious.

The degree of intelligence amongst the middling class, is not equal to what might be supposed from the state of the poor. This I shall endeavour to make manifest by a few facts. Albany, the seat of the government of New York, containing a population of 12,000 souls, had not, when I was there, a single circulating library. A bookseller told me that he had it in contemplation to establish one; but what must we think of a town with so large a population being without one? Certainly we may infer that the enlightened state the Americans boast of, is not very brilliant. At Richmond, the seat of the government of Virginia, I found a small library of valuable books by authors of the last century, but scarcely any published during the present; the fact being, that the subscriptions are only sufficient to pay the librarian's salary and the rent of the room: at least, I could obtain no other solution of its stagnant state. What few books there were, seemed to have been little read. I remained in the room several hours, and only one person came to exchange a volume during the whole time. In Philadelphia there is a good public library, and an establishment

called the Atheneum where periodicals are taken in; but the two united, would not equal the provision for literary appetite, in some European towns of half the size. In New York there are several small libraries, one of which belonging to the Historical Society, has a collection as judiciously made, as is perhaps possible to be found any where. But the state of literature in that city is evidently below that of Philadelphia and Boston, and far below what I should expect in the commercial metropolis of the most enlightened people upon earth. Baltimore has two libraries, but neither of them large. The colleges at Schenectady and Providence have libraries quite inadequate to a first-rate education. On the whole, there are not so many literary establishments in the United States, as to manifest a high degree of mental culture. The only place which appeared to me to be properly furnished with a literary establishment, is Boston; for though Philadelphia has, as I have mentioned, a good library, besides a reading room where the periodical journals may be seen, and a scientific library belonging to a public institution, yet when the population of that city is taken into account, the means of gaining improvement appear comparatively small. With respect to science, not being myself of a scien-

tific turn, it may be supposed that I did not make sufficient enquiries to give an opinion on it. I shall therefore only state, that I visited several scientific institutions, which so far as I could judge, were generally on a level with those of a literary nature.

From what has been stated, it will be readily inferred, that I attribute to national vanity, the high opinion of the Americans respecting themselves. This vanity doubtless originated in their successful struggle for independence, and formation of republican constitutions; and the mass of the people are so ignorant of the real state of other countries, that it is not wonderful that the delusion should continue. But why do I say the mass of the people? Even amongst those who rank themselves, whatever others may do, with the educated class, I met with numbers betraying ignorance disgraceful to a school-boy. Many would not believe that there is a free press in England. One man was almost in a passion with me, for saying that the press is as free in England, as in the United States. Another, a public lecturer, was surprised at the fact, and considered it quite a new feature in monarchical government! And yet their newspapers have large extracts from our opposition and radical

journals. I was conversing with another lecturer, who told me that he had been informed, that the Members of Parliament were in the habit of sitting in the House with their hats on, which he considered a pregnant instance of the little liberty enjoyed by the people of England! The reader will of course imagine that this gentleman was bantering, or adopting language manifestly absurd, for the purpose of eliciting my opinions. But the fact is, that he was in good earnest, his argument being, that the people being kept in subjection too great, they availed themselves of what little liberty they had, to make it appear as great as possible! Now this person be it observed is at the head of a military academy, and stands in good estimation as a scientific character. I heard him deliver a lecture at Boston on military tactics, and will do him the justice to own, that it was one of the clearest and most explanatory I ever heard. Stopping at the same tavern, and being afterwards fellow passengers in a steam packet, I conversed a good deal with him, and found him a man whose head was so full of prejudice and nonsense about England, that there was no convincing him of any thing favourable; and yet he was a man of good sense in other matters, and apparently of extensive reading. He might have

known that the House of Representatives sit covered as well as the House of Commons; and it is preposterous to suppose that the House of Lords sit covered to testify their independence.

A circumstance to which I have not yet alluded, is still further elucidatory of the state of literature and general information: it is the high value attached to the dictum of a few distinguished individuals. In Virginia, the opinion of the quondam President Jefferson on literary matters, seems to possess the potent influence of the magician's wand. I called upon him at his seat at Monticello, and doubt not from the short interview I had with him, that he is a scholar and man of taste, whose opinion is entitled to respect. But it certainly would not be received in the undisputed manner it is, if literature were as generally diffused as the Americans would have the world believe. Popes in literature, are as incompatible with an enlightened era as Popes in religion. A person who was speaking to me about him, told me that he was considered to be the most learned man in the world. I could name one or two others, whose authority in their respective districts is received with almost unbounded submission. Many books are published with the sanction of such persons

printed at the beginning, as if a censorship existed in the land. A gentleman who resides at New York appears to have been absolutely intoxicated with the fumes of flattery, and deference to his literary and scientific reputation. When I was at his house, he displayed more vanity than I ever before witnessed in one of his various attainments. He told me of the notice taken of him by this and by that foreigner, of the numerous letters he received from Europe and Asia, and of the compliments paid to him by such and such an institution. He mentioned with particular complacency, that a speech of his in Congress some years back, was repaid by a general clapping of hands; an honour never before nor since paid to any one. As I was about leaving, he presented me with a printed paper, which might, he said, be of use to me as a traveller. I found that it was a chronological summary of the events of his life! A solitary instance like this would of itself weigh little or nothing; but when taken into account in connexion with other matters, may be allowed to indicate, that the number of eminent scholars is small, and that the degree of learning in the public at large, is not such as to deserve boastful language.

The education of those designed for the legal

profession is worthy some attention. In most of the States, the requisite qualifications are so low, that Coke, Blackstone, a few volumes of common law cases, a copy of the laws of the State, and of those of the United States, are nearly all the books thought essential. I believe that hundreds, if not thousands of instances occur, of persons being called to the bar, who know no more than a school-boy of civil, canon and maritime law, and of the laws of war, and the law of nations. Improvement may and does take place afterwards; but can any one think, that so confined a study, is commensurate with a lawyer's duties? All however are not so deficient as is implied by my remark. America can refer at this time to her courts in New York, Massachusetts and some other States, with perfect satisfaction of men being found there competent to their stations, or to any legal station: and she can say of some of them, that they may compare with any lawyers in the world. But certainly till some new regulations are adopted in some of the States, neither the bar nor the bench will become so respectable as is desirable. I was in a court in Pennsylvania, where the Judge was laughed at by the counsel for his ignorance of law. It was evident to me, who am no lawyer, that many an attorney's clerk might have super-

seded him with advantage. These things must be borne in mind, when forming an estimate of the degree of intelligence in the country.

Of the medical profession I can only speak from hearsay; for though I conversed with several physicians, it was chiefly on other subjects than their profession. Several persons assured me that it was in a disgracefully low state. They were persons capable of knowing, and too fond of their country to wish to disparage it. I attended a lecture at Baltimore delivered by a physician of repute. He might be a good doctor, but he was a bad lecturer. The medical college in that city is considered nearly the best in the Union. At the hospital, I saw numerous very beautifully-executed anatomical preparations, but notwithstanding the advantages which students may have in that city, in the study of surgery and pharmacy, I am of opinion from what I heard, that their theoretical knowledge is very limited.

If it be thought that I have represented the intelligence of the country too low, let it be remembered, that the national vanity led me to examine the subject with great suspicion. After weighing the evidence maturely and without

prejudice, my judgment is, that America is considerably below several European countries; and I believe that intelligent Americans who have travelled, will confirm this opinion at least in degree. Several with whom I argued this point, admitted that the nation was grossly in error in its self-estimation. Perhaps if I had got acquainted with the citizens of Boston, I should be willing to admit more than I now can, consistently with my sense of justice. Boston has the character of being the most intellectual city in the United States; but provokingly, I had not a single letter of introduction to it. I walked about the streets, and saw its fine buildings, docks and harbour; I entered its noble public library and reading rooms; I got acquainted with two or three civil persons, who were ready to do me all reasonable kindness; I attended its debating society, and heard two or three orators; but as to the *mind* of the city, I had no means of forming any thing like a tolerable judgment. I felt the uncomfortableness of my situation, and at last resolved to venture to make a call on a gentleman with whose fame as a scholar I was acquainted; for as I knew he could give me a piece of information which I much wanted, and knew not how else to gain, I thought that he would probably excuse the liberty in a foreigner

circumstanced as I was. I enquired for his residence and set out; but before I reached it, the consideration that he might be troubled more than is agreeable by the presence of strangers, and that a scholar like himself could feel no interest in an obscure traveller like me, who had no fame, no title, to serve as a passport, operated so strongly on my mind, that I passed the door without giving a knock. In consequence of my irresolution, I lost my only chance of being introduced into the most intelligent circle in the land; which, whatever regret it occasions, is partly compensated by the better chances I had in other places. I left the city without obtaining the information I wanted.

Let me add, that the state of learning is in many parts evidently improving, and that the yearly additions to the number of scholars are not few. It is likely that in half a century more, America will not be behind any country in the world. The prospect of such a state is little less cheering to a European than to a native, since whatever considerable improvements take place in learning or science, will soon extend their influence across the Atlantic. Rome learnt arts from Greece after she had subdued her, and England may learn arts from the colonies she has planted.

CHAPTER IX.

PATRIOTISM.

SOAME JENYNS, in his View of the internal evidences of the Christian Religion, has endeavoured to prove that patriotism is not a Christian virtue. That he has not made many converts is well known, and it is improbable that he ever will. The enlightened Christian will doubtless consider all mankind as his brethren; but he may surely prefer the people of his own country to those of other lands. There is no more impropriety in being attached in a superior degree to the nation of which we form a part, and in espousing its interests in preference to others, than in regarding our own family as nearer and dearer than one of no relationship. The man so expansive in his benevolence as to have no partialities, is not likely to be an actively useful member of society. He may soar high in imagination, but like Icarus he will soon sink. The love of country is implanted by nature, and ought to be cherished; but like other good qualities, it requires pruning to prevent a rank luxuriance. The Americans are as ardently attached to their country

as the Swiss, the Scotch or the Icelanders; and when its honour is assailed, they feel their passions roused. The accounts of them by English travellers and the comments of reviewers, have excited their indignation to an extraordinary degree. It is therefore my intention to examine, whether they are justified in their complaints of English bigotry and English misrepresentation. Such an enquiry may perhaps be serviceable to both parties.

On examining most of the books of travels in America by Englishmen, it will be found that the impression they are calculated to make is on the whole unfavourable. Who after reading the narratives of Ashe, Jansen, Fearon, Weld, Howitt, Howisson, Welby, and Faux, but would conclude that the Americans are a rude, wild, dirty, crafty and low-minded people? But then it remains to be seen, whether these authors can be justly charged with falsehood, or wilful misrepresentation. There are unquestionably some erroneous statements in one or two of them; but I assert as undeniable, that truth has for the most part been supported, though candour has been laid aside. Now it is obvious that where this course is pursued, the object of publishing books of travels is defeated; understanding as I do,

that an author professing to inform his countrymen of a foreign land, its inhabitants and institutions, ought in justice to give the good as well as bad traits that present themselves. But when it is borne in mind, that the travellers above named appear to have passed through the country without becoming acquainted with the most intelligent part of the community, or at least without that disposition to be pleased which is so necessary in foreign lands, it may be inferred with great probability, that they were not qualified to do justice to the people, concerning whom they have written. Suppose that a foreigner travelling through England, were to publish an account of all his observations at the inns and public houses where he stopped, on the rudeness of one, the affected importance of another, and the peevishness of a third; and without having visited in genteel private families, were to endeavour to persuade his readers that England had nothing better, should we not laugh at him for a simpleton and despise his book? But the Americans, who in degree have been thus treated, have manifested anger instead of mirth; in which they have been as unwise as the travellers in the fable, who quarrelled about the colour of the chameleon. I scarcely met with a single person, except the Secretary of war, who

viewed the subject in its right light. Many were quite furious on it, and nearly all seemed as sorely wounded as poor Christian after he had had Giant Despair's cudgelling. Walsh's Appeal was evidently written under irritated feelings. It pleased his countrymen for a time, but was soon laid on the shelf as a clumsy book, according to the author's definition of it, being inadequate to its professed object, and written in a bad spirit. But the most amusing proof of the feelings of the Americans, on the treatment they have received from English authors, is a book entitled, A Sketch of Old England by a New Englander. The author with commendable diligence, has collected a mass of facts and assumed facts, elucidatory of the miserable state of England; and having arranged them with some ingenuity, and commented on them with malignant satisfaction, has given them to the world partly in revenge, but principally with the view of compelling Englishmen to speak respectfully of America! And was this writer so ignorant of human nature, as to suppose that vulgar abuse is the most likely means to ensure respect? It is a proof however of that morbid sensibility which I have mentioned. While they complain so loudly of English travellers, they seem to forget that the works of Hall, Harris, and more espe-

cially of Frances Wright, represent them in very favourable colours. A series of letters which appeared in the Christian Observer, and which are the production of a Liverpool merchant, are also written with candour and liberality.

Not only do the Americans complain of English travellers, but of English critics, and more especially of the Edinburgh Reviewers. These writers, say they, profess to uphold liberal principles and to be advocates for political liberty, and claim merit for their labours in the cause of philanthropy; and yet they have been continually abusing us, who have done the most of any people in the world, in advancing the rights and happiness of man. Without stopping to examine how far the Americans are entitled to the general gratitude of the human race, I shall proceed to examine the charge against the Reviewers. Let any dispassionate person turn over the volumes of the Edinburgh Review, and he will find more praise of America than censure. True, there are some flippant, ill-natured sarcasms, but what then? Has not their satire on their own country been quite as poignant? Have they not been as severe in their strictures on the English government, as in any thing they have said respecting America? Why then should the Americans complain? If they had traduced America

and lauded Great Britain, it must be admitted that they would stand condemned in the judgment of impartial persons; but while they speak of one country with the same freedom they do of the other, it seems unjust to charge them with illiberality, and with acting at variance with their principles. But, say the Americans, the Reviewers have been so unfair, as to ridicule different publications, merely because they were the productions of American citizens. The direct answer to this is to deny the assertion. Let any one examine the criticisms on Montgomery's Wanderer of Switzerland, Sir John Sinclair's Code of Health, Wraxall's Memoirs, Wordsworth's Excursion and sundry works of Southey and Coleridge, and then say if Barlow's Columbiad, Marshall's Life of Washington and a few other American books were censured from national prejudice. Nothing can be further from the truth. But to hear the indignant language of the Americans, one might fancy that it is high treason against their government, to satirize any thing they do or say. The sovereign people, like other sovereigns, want to be fumed with the incense of flattery.

Of the tone of several articles in the Quarterly Review, they may complain with some rea-

son; not only because they are written in the same malignant spirit as the Sketch of Old England, but because that Review is filled with eulogiums on England, and some of them unmerited. But instead of returning railing for railing, it would be better for the Americans to act on a different plan. What however is the fact? Their newspapers teem with scurrility on England. And for one objectionable paragraph by our writers, there are probably ten by theirs. This is not as it should be. Let us speak freely, but without undue asperity of each other. The rivalship between the nations, will under due regulations, tend to their mutual benefit.

The patriotic notions of many Americans, combined with their ignorance of other countries, lead them into gross errors. Not satisfied with hearing their country spoken of respectfully, they want it extolled; and if a foreigner ventures to hint that improvement might be made in this or that thing, he is almost sure to be condemned as illiberal and bigoted. Of this I had numerous instances. Having had a long conversation with a naval officer on different subjects, he asked my opinion of the country. I spoke strongly in its favour, and assured him that next to my own, it stood first in my regard,

at the same time pointing out several things that I disapproved. I had not the remotest idea, that I should in consequence be condemned for a want of candour; for controversy we had none, and were both in good humour and apparent harmony; and yet a few days after, I was told by another person that this officer had reported, that I was going as a spy through the land, and intended on my return home, to vilify it like other English travellers! As I was in a stage-coach, the conversation turned on the improvements going on; and the Erie canal was adverted to. One of the passengers described it, as the wonder of the world, as the glory of the age. I remarked that it certainly was a great and useful work, and manifested conspicuously the spirit and enterprise of the people, but that I could not think such strong language as he used, was altogether applicable to it. Some hours after, another passenger asked me, what State I was a native of. I told him that I was an Englishman. "I thought so," said the first, "from your remarks on the canal: you did not speak of it like an American." The reader will perhaps suppose, that there was something in my tone and manner, calculated to make an impression that I thought meanly of the work. Quite the contrary: I spoke of it as I thought, and even add-

ed, that it was a work of which the country might justly be proud. But because I subtracted from his extravagant eulogium, I could not forsooth be an American! But this is the case throughout. The Capitol at Washington surpasses all other edifices: Philadelphia is the perfection of beauty: New York is the most enterprising city in the world: the Americans are the only people who possess liberty. Those who venture to express a doubt on these points, no matter how diffidently, are stared at with wonder. That this should be the case with the vulgar and ignorant need excite no surprise; but that in the superior ranks, there should be a large proportion who thus express themselves, is a fact quite startling. Patriotism may surely be felt and manifested without the use of extravagant terms; but this the Americans do not seem to understand. A gentleman who also spoke of the canal, told me, that taking the circumstances of the people into consideration, it was equal to the Pyramids of Egypt, or the wall of China!

But the most diverting specimens of national vanity, were exhibited by two gentlemen who had made the tour of Europe. One told me that as he was walking in the gardens at Versailles, a boy pointing to him said to another,

"There goes an Englishman;" on which he told the boy that he was not an Englishman but an American. The boy begged his pardon, saying, that he certainly had taken him for an Englishman, but hoped he had not given offence. The other gentleman said that as he was at Dieppe, a man accosted him as an Englishman, who on being told that he was an American, exclaimed, "So much the better." So little had these two travellers learnt of French habits and manners, that they actually related these anecdotes to me to prove the superior estimation in which American citizens are held on the continent of Europe! Now when patriotism gives birth to vanity like this, it becomes as ridiculous, as under due regulations it is noble.

Though the Americans are generally patriotic to bigotry, I met, as might be supposed, with some amongst them who manifested a totally different feeling. One gentleman, whom I met at York in Pennsylvania, expressed himself so dissatisfied with the country, that I told him I did not admire his want of patriotism. In reply, he said that he had been in France, which country he so much loved that he cared nothing about his own. If he had adopted France as his permanent abode, he would have been right in at-

taching himself more strongly to it than to his native country; though even in such a case, I should think it rather unnatural in him to feel no regard for the latter. But the opinion, that it is right or justifiable to be careless of the welfare of a nation of which we are a component part, is not apprehensible by me. Two persons at Boston with whom I got acquainted, expressed themselves in language not quite so unpatriotic as in the last cited case, but with little affection for their country. Another at Albany was of sentiments apparently correspondent. But the bitterest spirit against America which I any where witnessed, was in an Englishman resident in Philadelphia, who though a naturalized citizen, was displeased with the climate, the government, the people, the laws, and the administration of justice; and yet he had been thirty years settled in the country. Several other of my countrymen told me they should be glad to return home, and intended it at a future time, but spoke with a due appreciation of America and her citizens. I am glad to be able to state, that most of those who manifested a hatred of America, were persons who left England from a similar hatred.

CHAPTER X.

HOSPITALITY.

HOSPITALITY is a quality generally to be found amongst the inhabitants of thinly-peopled countries. Pastoral nations, as the Hebrews of old, and the Arabs and Tartars of the present day, have always been distinguished for their readiness to receive the wayfaring man under their roof. The reason for it may be found in the paucity of travellers, and the consequent want of inns. The sight and conversation of a stranger are pleasing to persons living in such countries, to a degree of which city residents can from their own experience form no idea. But when citizens are charged, as they often are, with a want of hospitality, due allowance is not made for the circumstances attending their situation. Where the number of strangers is great, and the public accommodations are handsome, how can it be expected that a stranger should be noticed? Accordingly, the rule in cities is to be free from any obligation to notice strangers unless furnished with introductory letters: and when such letters are satisfactory, citizens are seldom behind

hand in kind attentions. But so truly hospitable are the Americans, that even in cities I received the most flattering attentions from persons to whom I was a total stranger, without being furnished with any introduction. Wherever I went in town or country I met with friends. My feelings of gratitude therefore induce me to give a number of instances. And as I shall mingle particulars illustrative of the habits and manners of the people, I doubt not that the recital will be interesting to all my readers.

Soon after I landed at New York, I fell accidentally into conversation with a lawyer, whom I met at a house where I called on business. Learning that I was an Englishman just arrived, he made numerous enquiries respecting England, and conducting me to his house, invited me to spend the evening with him. I accepted the invitation, and passed the time in that agreeable manner, which conversation with intelligent persons generally produces. Being about to leave the city, he requested me on my return to call and see him again. I did so; and was received with the same kind attention as before. And on my reaching New York a third time, I renewed my acquaintance with him and still found him disposed to gratify and oblige me. On one oc-

casion, he took me a ride into the country; and stopping at a farm-house on our return, he introduced me to the farmer and his wife, by whom we were invited to tea. We remained with them about two hours and were regaled with raspberries and cream. Our ride, which was on Long Island, was a particularly pleasant one, it being in the early part of summer, when the landscape is green. In short, this gentleman was so polite and attentive, that I avoided calling on him, not liking to receive so many favours from one to whom I could not make an adequate return.

As I was in a bookseller's shop at Albany, a gentleman present asked me some question concerning a book on the shelf, and in replying, finding it necessary to refer to England, he asked if I had been in England; and on learning that I was an Englishman who was but recently come into the country, he furnished me with his address, and requested my company. I went to call upon him the following evening, but there being another person of his name in the same street, I went to the wrong house. Owing to a curious circumstance, I did not discover my mistake for nearly a quarter of an hour; for I supposed that the person I was speaking to, was an inmate of the house, and not the master. How-

ever, this mistake was the means of bringing me acquainted with two families instead of one. I afterwards waited on the first, who was a man of candid, liberal sentiments, and one of the Episcopal clergy. He told me that it gave him pleasure to entertain a foreigner, and he doubted not that I should find his countrymen generally disposed to shew attention to strangers. He being of Welsh origin, he alluded to the Principality with great interest. Indeed I almost invariably noticed that educated Americans look to the land of their fathers with filial regard. My time being limited, I had not so much of this gentleman's company as I desired; but his frank, kind disposition gave me a favourable opinion of him.

In a former chapter, I have mentioned being in a passage-boat on the Erie canal. I received from several of my fellow passengers the most pressing invitations to their houses, three of which I accepted. One was from a hatter residing at Trumansberg, a village near Cayuga Lake. He walked with me three miles, to shew me the magnificent cascade which I have described. On our return he gave me a hearty welcome to a good dinner. Though not a man of much education, his conversation was agree-

able. Another invitation was from a shopkeeper at Geneva, a village at the outlet of Seneca Lake. He was by birth an Englishman, but being carried over when a boy, is to be considered as an American in reference to the object of this chapter. At his house, I dined and spent the remainder of the day. His wife and sister-in-law with ourselves formed the company. We talked on a variety of subjects, and amongst other things did not forget Old England. They were much pleased with hearing my description of London, while I listened with equal pleasure to their accounts of America. This visit seemed to me like one with old friends, rather than casual acquaintances. The other invitation was from a lawyer at Canandaigua, who was formerly a member of Congress, and the only American I met with, who completely understood English politics. He directed my attention to those objects of curiosity and interest that lay in my route, and took pains to make me appreciate duly the great natural advantages of the country.

Having occasion to stay two or three days at Rochester, a thriving town on the Genessee, I got acquainted with several of the inhabitants, and was kindly and liberally entertained by them. One invitation was given to me in a place of

worship, by a person who had noticed me in the town as a stranger. Though I had not spoken a word to him, he came up to me, offering his hand, and asked me to dinner. Though a man of rather contracted and bigoted mind, he proved himself of a kind disposition.

The instances I have hitherto mentioned are in the State of New York. It may therefore be proper to take a few cases from those that occurred in other States, to show that hospitality is not limited to one district. As I was in the coach between Boston and Providence, I had a good deal of lively talk with an inhabitant of the latter place. The result was, that he invited me to his house. On calling there, I found that he was a schoolmaster. After walking through the school and examining the state of the children's education, we took tea. One of the teachers who sat near me, was a young woman of as sensible mind as I have often met, and so easy in her manners and at the same time so modest, that I could not but be gratified with my visit, more especially as much of our discourse was on literary topics, in which she took great interest. They invited me to repeat my visit, but I had not an opportunity. Another case in Providence that I wish to mention is this. I

stopped a man in the street to ask for some information. He gave it me, and then said that he was going home to dinner, and if I were disposed to take my chance for a family dinner with him I was welcome to a seat at his table. Something in his manner pleased me and I went with him. He introduced me to his wife, who soon set before us a plain, substantial dinner, such as it is customary to find at tradesmen's tables, and which was particularly acceptable to me, as I had been faring sumptuously for some days previously. I sat with them about an hour after dinner holding conversation on America. In the evening, as I was at the tavern, their son came to me with an invitation to give them another call. I walked back with him, when they told me that thinking I might perhaps be in company not the most agreeable, as is often the case at houses of public resort, they had resolved to invite me to join their circle. This extraordinary proof of kindness deserves to be remembered, for where in the records of hospitality can it be excelled? When this person first asked me to dinner, he knew nothing of me. From the enquiry I made, he perceived I was a stranger, and that was enough to induce him to notice me. When he learnt that I was an Englishman, he was still more minute in his atten-

tions. The evening passed pleasantly; and on taking leave, he requested that if I should ever be in Providence again, I would not fail to call on them.

When I was at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, a young man, a merchant of Philadelphia, stopped at the house where I put up. In the course of conversation, he enquired of me where I was from; and on my saying I was an Englishman, he said that his mother was an Englishwoman; and further particulars led to the knowledge of the circumstance, that she and I were natives of the same town. He told me that his mother took particular pleasure in the company of her own countrymen, and that he doubted not she would be glad to see one from her native town; and desired me to give them a call on my return to Philadelphia. It so happened that I met this gentleman in the street a few hours after my return. He invited me to take tea with them that evening, an invitation which I readily accepted; and was in consequence introduced to a very agreeable family. The father, an old gentleman of a cheerful turn of mind, and very open-hearted, had when a young man resided in London, where he married. His wife made many enquiries respecting her old neighbours in our na-

tive town, and was so much interested in the particulars I gave her, that she remarked she had not been so gratified for the thirty years of her residence in America. Whether it be that her natural disposition is lively, or that the revival of past days had a more than ordinary effect upon her I know not; but she showed a vivacity very striking and pleasing in one of her years. She told me that during my stay in the city, I was to consider their house as one where I might at any time step in. She informed me what were their dinner hours, and added that a knife and fork would always be laid for me when I inclined to join them, as she wished me to feel at home. The sons, all of whom but the one I mentioned had been in England, were intelligent and polite. They took so much pains to gratify me in every thing connected with their city and its environs, that I hardly know in what terms to speak of their kindness. One of them took me in his chaise to a Lunatic Asylum at about six miles distant: on another occasion, he proposed my joining a party of five or six young persons who were going to view a gentleman's garden near the city. I did so, and though the weather was oppressively hot, we had a delightful ride. The garden is one of the few ornamental ones to be seen in the United States; and

though not laid out in the best taste in all parts, has many beauties. We remained in it for I suppose at least an hour, now resting in a summer-house, now under a tree, and then walking again through the varied paths. What with the charms of the place, and the company of the ladies who were all in good spirits, I have seldom had a pleasanter afternoon. One of his brothers called me one day to take a ride with him, when he drove me round what is called the neck, being the land below the city between the two rivers. It is flat; but some part of it being cultivated by market gardeners, has a regular and pleasing appearance. On our return into the city, we stopped at the Academy of Arts to view an exhibition of paintings, which though not so large as the exhibition at Somerset House, was well worth viewing. Another day he drove me to the Orphan Asylum. In short, they one and all were so exceedingly obliging, that my stay in Philadelphia is a sort of era in my life.

One of the family having a country house near the Schuylkill about six miles from the city, I went there to spend an evening. A gentleman who has a cotton manufactory near the house proposed taking me round in his gig, to see the beauties of the river and inspect his establish-

ment. This was a very pleasant proposal, and one that I cheerfully embraced. The scenery on the banks of the river is quite picturesque, and different from most of the rivers I have seen. Though not magnificent, it is so varied by the mixture of rude nature and cultivation, here a small cascade, there a well-built house, and a little further a pile of huge stones, that our ride was quite delightful. I had to cross a ferry to get to my friend's house, the amenity of which at once caught my attention, it being on a small eminence embracing views which if not picturesque, were simply rural and elegant. As I was approaching it he came out to meet me, and giving me his hand introduced me to his wife and daughter. Judging from the comparatively little I had of their company, I should suppose the former to be a woman of great good sense and considerable reading: her politeness and colloquial talents were conspicuous. The daughter, a girl about fifteen years of age, was one whose education had evidently been very carefully attended to, and carried further than is common in America. She had not assumed the carriage of a woman, a circumstance in her favour, as it made her attainments appear to more advantage, but she was lively and conversable. We took tea in a handsome porch looking over a green field,

and in such company it will easily be supposed I thoroughly enjoyed myself. Early the next morning, my kind, attentive host entered into my bedroom and inquired if I should like to take a bath. I replied in the affirmative, and immediately rising, was conducted to one in an adjoining field which is filled by a small brook and is therefore always fresh. He then showed me round his little farm which is in excellent order. After breakfast we took a walk in the garden, which though not large, was more tasteful, and with few exceptions had a greater variety of shrubs and flowers than any other garden I saw in the country. He then drove me to the house of a neighbour, a Judge of one of their courts. After walking in his grounds for some time, where I was shown two trees planted by General Washington, I returned to the city. When on taking leave of this family, I acknowledged the flattering attentions I had received, the mother my countrywoman desired I would not mention them, as it was always agreeable to see her countrymen, and a double pleasure to see a townsman. One of her sons came to shake hands with me on board the steam-boat, and on my making the same acknowledgments to him, he said that he was only returning the kindness he had received from Englishmen in England. May this feeling of mu-

tual kindness continue to increase, till all bitterness, wrath and evil-speaking on the part of each nation of the other totally subside! Peace may then be considered as permanently established; and how happy will it be for both countries when this is the case! None but wicked men can desire a rupture between two countries so formed by the ties of language, relationship and religion, to be united for ever in the bonds of friendship.

As I was walking on the bank of the canal which is cut through the Dismal Swamp in Virginia, I stopped to rest on a bench. While sitting there, a man accosted me by saying that he perceived I was a stranger. I replied that I was. "Well," said he, "my house lies three miles off, and I am now going home: will you please to accompany me and take a night's lodging?" I thanked him for his kind proposal, but declined it as I was proceeding in another direction. But it would not do. He seemed determined that I should accompany him; and as I found that such a deviation would not materially affect my arrangements, I complied. As we entered his farmyard, his little children came running out to meet him. He kissed one, took another in his arms, and proved himself so affectionate a father, that it was a tendering sight. After we had

taken some refreshment, he conducted me round his farm of about three hundred acres, informing me of his management, and showing me his stock. Though myself almost entirely ignorant of rural affairs, having from a child lived a town life, yet I contrived to hold a conversation with him with some interest. What pleased me the best, was to find that he had no negroes on his farm though living in the midst of a slave population. He told me that he was principled against slavery, and had formed a resolution early in life never to hold a fellow man in bondage; a resolution which he had never seen reason to depart from or regret. "It is true," said he, "that I work harder than my neighbours; but I am able to keep the sheriff and constable from the door, and should not fear a comparison of profits with any of the farmers round; and then I have the consolation of reflecting that I am guilty of no oppression, and that my children will be brought up to more industry and virtue, than if the demoralizing example of slavery was always before their eyes." Happy man, thought I, art thou to have broken through the prejudices of education, and though like Milton's Abdiel thou standest alone, thou wilt surely have thy reward in an approving conscience. After supper, he took a religious book from the shelf, and began reading to the family.

How similar was it to the description given in Burns's poem, the Cotter's Saturday night! As I lay in bed, my mind was filled with reflections on what I had seen and heard. The simplicity, benevolence and piety of my worthy host; the industry and hospitable entertainment of his wife; the prattling and playfulness of their children; the absence of slavery; the happiness of the whole family:—thought rushed upon thought and I could not sleep. But that evening will surely long be remembered by me with keen interest. After breakfast on the following morning, I rose to depart, when I had another proof of the farmer's kindness. He would walk with me a mile on my way to testify his regard to a stranger. I seemed thrown back into the patriarchal times, by this remarkably friendly act. I think proper to add, that he was one of the Arminian Baptists, a class of religionists of whom I know little, but of whom I am disposed to think favourably from the few whom I have occasionally met.

When at Fredericsburg in the same State, I left my watch at a shop to be repaired. On calling again for it, I fell into conversation with the watchmaker, an agreeable, intelligent man. He walked with me to the spring which supplies the town with water, giving me information on

all the points of my enquiries about the town and its vicinity. I afterwards took tea with him, and was very handsomely entertained. Like most intelligent Americans, he was much gratified to hear me speak well of my country; for notwithstanding the revolutionary war and the late war between the two countries, they have a sincere regard for England.

Desirous of seeing every class of persons in the country, I walked from Fredericsburg to the seat of a wealthy planter, distant about twenty miles. I had voyaged with him some weeks before in a steam-boat, and had then received an invitation from him. He had been recently elected a Senator in Congress, though upwards of seventy years old. His age had not in the slightest degree impaired his reasoning faculties. On the contrary, he was as clear-headed and cheerful as if he had been half a century younger. He received me with that hearty welcome which makes a person feel that he is no intruder, and with that polite attention which in a foreign land is particularly acceptable. His countenance was as pleasing as his manners, being enlivened by a smile when he spoke; and his eyes and forehead seemed to speak as plainly as his conversation, that his intellectual powers

were far above mediocrity. So much blandness united to clear comprehension, I have rarely witnessed in one so old. What was particularly observable in him was, that he took no offence at the expression of opinions contrary to his own, when proceeding from young persons; an attainment which is often wanting in those of advanced life. This gentleman is noted for his agricultural improvements directed by the hand of taste. His farm appeared to me to be neater and better cultivated than any in the neighbourhood. His house stands about a mile from the road; and the approach to it between two rows of peach and other fruit trees is delightful. A river runs behind it not without its beauties, but the country is too flat to be very interesting. The old gentleman having served under General Washington, entertained me by relating some particulars of the revolutionary war. Before it broke out he had strongly deprecated it, but when the colonies had once entered into it, he thought that the best way was to prosecute it with vigour, to bring it to a speedy conclusion. He still remains the friend of England, expressing himself to me on this point, in stronger language than I dare say he would think prudent to utter in the Senate; for he told me, that he had great doubts whether the country had bene-

fited by its separation from the parent state. After remaining two days at his house, where I had abundance of good things for the palate, and conversation of a superior kind, and where, without being considered intrusive I might have remained much longer, I took my leave and set off. He having told me that his son lived at a farm-house on my way, I thought I would give him a call. I did so; and though an entire stranger was received in a very courteous manner. On asking for a glass of water, he sent the servant to get some fresh for me; and setting before me wine and spirits requested me to help myself. He then asked me to stop and dine. I hesitated; but finding I was not asked out of mere compliment, I accepted his kindness. His wife, and two young ladies whom I took for visiters were at the table, and O! what a dinner we had! Dishes of various kinds were placed before us arranged with some regard to elegance; and then there was choice of wine and liquors to dilute the more solid parts of the banquet, and smiles and pleasantry to enliven the whole: and then for conversation, we went over Scotland and England, and the war between France and Spain. We adverted to Byron and Scott, and other literary heroes of the day. We touched on this subject and on that, and then

recurred to former topics. How animated were we! To a stranger like me it was delightful indeed! And if ever I should be in Virginia again, (which I do not expect) I intend once again to put this gentleman's hospitality to the test. He treated me so well the first time, that I should like to venture a second call upon him. In the course of the afternoon, I rose to take my leave. A bed was offered to me if I would stop all night. I would gladly have accepted this offer both for the sake of company and my own convenience; but considering that I should not be justified in encroaching so much on the kindness of one, on whom I had called without any previous invitation, I departed.

On my return to New York to embark for England, I called at a merchant's counting-house to leave a letter from one of his correspondents in Philadelphia. This merchant was an Irishman, and invited me to take tea with him. At his house I met a gentleman who is lecturer to a scientific institution in the city, and hence in the style of the country is denominated professor; for the Americans are fond of titles. The Professor and I got into a conversation together on certain doctrines in vogue, and found our sentiments on them nearly coincident. He was

pleased to request me to renew our acquaintance at his house, which I did. I frequently called on him during my stay in New York, and was always received with easy politeness. Every thing in his house, his manners, and his person was the opposite of display; but there was neatness and elegant simplicity. He entertains his guests without any of that foolish parade and formality, too often, even in America, shown to strangers. Those who visit him have, what is more agreeable, a reception which at once removes all embarrassment and restraint, and makes them feel domestic comfort. I passed many pleasant and improving hours in conversation with him and his intelligent family. One evening when I was at his house, a young man from an adjoining street stepped in to walk home with his sister, who had been passing about an hour there. He was kind enough to give me a friendly invitation to his father's house. I thanked him, though I had no intention of accepting it; but an accidental circumstance induced me to call, and glad indeed was I afterwards that I did, as it was the means of my becoming intimate with a most interesting family. A feeling of friendship arose on the first visit; the second strengthened it; the third completed it. During the remainder of my abode in the city, which was about

three weeks, few days elapsed without my calling on my friends. There seemed to be some impropriety in my burdening them with so much of my company; but considering that my time was nearly at an end, I knew not how to resist the temptation of frequently renewing my intercourse with such a family. As the time of my departure approached, the thought of taking leave for ever became painful. In the evening before the day fixed for my embarkation, we crossed the ferry from New York to Hoboken. The weather was delightful; the steam-boat conveyed us in high style; every thing appeared pleasing. The view of the city rising from the water, with its numerous spires and turrets, the Hudson with ships at anchor and sloops sailing, the Jersey shore rich in beauty, the setting sun reflected from the windows of the opposite shore; these united to that silence which Milton notices as the accompaniment of evening, and the thought that this walk must be our last, brought a feeling over the mind approaching to melancholy, yet softened so as to be grateful. We returned and took tea: I then rose to bid adieu. As I took each by the hand, I felt that I was parting from one dear to me: my heart was touched, but my voice was mute. It might be that they had a portion of the same feeling, for

our parting was in silence. Farewell! dear Friends; accept the warm tribute of my thanks for your unremitted kindness to the foreigner. Never, never, while my faculties remain, can it be forgotten by me: the remembrance of it is sweet and will so continue.

The hospitality which I experienced in all these cases was without an introductory letter; and they are only selections from the numbers I could mention. I have given them in preference to those where I had letters, because, having no claim on the parties, they are the more remarkable. If it were necessary to give more instances of a similar kind, I could do it in Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland. In the latter State in particular, I could relate many very gratifying proofs of American generosity. One reflection arises in the mind on a review of them. All that a traveller has any right to expect are civility, a willingness to grant information, and in places where there are no taverns, a readiness to grant him food and lodging on his paying for them. But how much beyond do the Americans go! If they were all Catholics, they would have a long catalogue of their works of supererogation. And are these the people whom Englishmen are taught to regard as low in the scale of civiliza-

tion? Let us hope that juster ideas will hereafter prevail.

It may seem superfluous to make any mention of cases of parties to whom I had letters. Yet there are two or three which I wish to notice, as they serve to throw light on the American character. On presenting a letter to a merchant in Baltimore, he gave me as soon as he had read it, a welcome shake of the hand and an invitation to dinner. I met at his table an Episcopal clergyman whose company was very pleasant to me. He was a young man of enquiring mind, and as ready to answer questions as to put them. After dinner, the gentleman's sons walked with me to different objects of curiosity in the city. We walked to the Washington Monument and ascended it, to the Jail, and to other buildings whose names I have forgotten. During my stay in the city, which was several weeks, I continued from time to time to receive proofs of their kind attention. The merchant's wife conversed with me a great deal about America, of which she was desirous I should form a correct opinion. Whether I have done so or not, it is right to state that it was her arguments and kind behaviour which first made me heartily attached to the country; for though I had before formed a

favourable opinion, I still retained some of my English prejudices.

I called to deliver a letter to a schoolmaster, whose house was in a part of Virginia remote from the high roads. Before I got to the door he came out to welcome me, though he had never seen me previously, and knew nothing of my having an introductory letter. I remained half a day with him, during which he was very attentive to me. His son, a young man about twenty-two years of age, seemed very partial to polite literature. His company was particularly acceptable to me, as our conversation turned on topics which are too seldom introduced in American families. I examined several of the boys as to their progress in learning, and found it in a fair state. The worthy schoolmaster was so kind, as to invite me to stay a week with him. Instances like this are not uncommon in the remote parts of the country, where they seldom see foreigners; and I fear that their liberality is sometimes taken advantage of, by persons remaining longer than is agreeable.

A Physician at Petersburg in Virginia introduced me to some very intelligent company. He had received his education in Edinburgh,

and when I was giving him an account of its present state, he begged me to desist, as he was afraid that his interest would be so much excited as to make him wish to return to it. He held a long argument with me on the cause of the variety of colour in the human species, a subject, which, reasoning on the assumption of the truth of the Mosaic account of the creation, is exceedingly puzzling. I do not know that either convinced the other, but we were quite interested in the discussion. At his house, a number of young ladies meet weekly as a benevolent society. I was admitted into the room where they were sitting at work with their needles and thread, and had some lively chat with them. It was an interesting scene to observe so many devote their time to the benefit of the poor. The Doctor's sensible conversation and his warm-heartedness made my visit to him one of the pleasantest I paid in America. With several of the clergy at Washington both Episcopalian and Presbyterian, I spent some improving hours. Three or four of the members of Congress to whom also I had letters, were ready to give me information and assistance. In fine, the hospitality shown to me was joined to so much more devotedness of attention than I had any reason to expect, that my heart was thoroughly warmed. America is certainly the land of kind dispositions.

CHAPTER XI.

POLITENESS.

In the preceding chapter there are various instances of politeness; and yet I doubt whether the Americans can properly be called a polite people. The first class are indeed very polite; but the middling and lower classes, though not rude as some have asserted, are deficient in that sort of minute observance of respectful address so conspicuous in the French. I suspect that those travellers who have complained of the rudeness of the Americans, must have demeaned themselves in an arrogant or otherwise unpleasant manner; for the instances of rudeness that I met with were so rare, and those of civility so general, that the former must in all fairness be regarded as exceptions to the general rule. My object in the present chapter is to exhibit the politeness of the upper class. This object will I think be best attained by a few particulars. As there is not in America any considerable body of persons living independent of business, and constituting an order of gentry, I include in the upper class, merchants, lawyers, and clergymen, with all those of whatever pro-

fession whose property or education gives them influence in their respective neighbourhoods.

On entering the Senate of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, one of the members with whom I had had some previous conversation, came as soon as he observed me, and invited me to a seat below the bar; an act of courtesy to a stranger that I could not but admire. In the lower house, I had a similar invitation. One of the members who lodged at a private house, introduced me to the family, with whom I spent an evening. The Judge of the county court, who was in the town in the exercise of his functions, took me into the State record-chamber, and showed me the original charter granted by Charles II. to Penn for forming the colony; and on my visiting the court where he presided, he requested me to take a seat at the counsellors' table. Several of the members of Assembly who were at the tavern where I stopped, were of very gentlemanly behaviour. Their politeness to me will not soon be forgotten.

When at Providence in Rhode Island, I walked to Brown's University, and enquiring of one of the students if there was any thing worth the notice of a stranger, he conducted me to his

room, and after a little conversation, went and informed his tutor of my being there. He returned with a message from him, inviting me to accompany him through the building. This I did, gaining from him the information that I wanted, and receiving that pleasing attention which in a foreign land endears the inhabitants to the traveller.

I met with a person at a tavern at Schenectady in New York, who was one of the surveyors of the Erie canal. He was of liberal sentiments as it respects other nations and governments, manifesting none of that bigoted disposition to extol to the skies whatever was American, though he had a rational attachment to his country. After a long, desultory discourse with him, I told him that I thought of calling at Union College in that town. He said he was acquainted with the Professor of Chemistry, and would give me a note to him. The Professor, a young man of pleasing manners, showed me every thing worth the notice of a stranger and introduced me to another of the tutors who accompanied us over part of the College. They very pressingly invited me to stay and dine with them; but as the note I took was from a casual acquaintance, and not one of a stamp conferring a

degree of freedom in the bearer, I returned to my quarters to dinner, though I would gladly have had more conversation with two such characters as they appeared to be. If I had had no introduction to them, I might perhaps have accepted their invitation; but I could not reconcile the idea of encroaching on kindness, when my only claim to their notice was a note from a stranger at a tavern. I never myself gave a letter under such a circumstance, and I believe I never shall; but I thought I might not improperly use the one I had, for the simple purpose of gaining information. I have no reason to regret having done so, as my object in visiting the College was accomplished more easily, than would in all likelihood have been the case without any introduction, and I met with two polite gentlemen.

Being one day at a private house in New York, I mentioned my intention of visiting the Lancastrian Female School, on which a lady present, said that she should take a pleasure in showing it to me. I was glad to avail myself of her offer, and fixed a time for the visit. On entering the school, she came forward to meet me, offered me her hand in the most courteous manner, and gave me all the needful information

respecting the progress of the children. Her polite and fascinating manners could not but gain my admiration. On another occasion I was in a company, where a manuscript poem was read. It excited general attention, and I passed some commendation on it. Calling afterwards at the same house, the lady who had read it presented me with a copy of it neatly written, and requested my acceptance of it. As it occupied several folio pages, I thought it manifested great politeness in her to take so much pains for my gratification. I still keep it in remembrance of her.

When at Washington in the Capitol, I enquired of a gentleman in the lobby of the Senate-chamber, if there was admission for strangers. He immediately conducted me to a seat, which I observed from a paper on the door, was appropriated to lawyers of the Supreme Court and a few other privileged persons. On expressing my surprise that he should shew me to this seat, he told me that he was Vice-President of the United States, and in virtue of his office had a right to invite any person to it. I acknowledged his condescension and politeness, telling him at the same time, that if I had been aware of his station, I certainly should not have made

so free as to speak to him. He soon after took his seat as President of the Senate.

The Supreme Court of Virginia being in session at Richmond when I was there, I entered it to deliver a letter to the Deputy-Governor of the State, he being a barrister. As soon as he had read it, he left his seat, and coming forward offered me his hand, and begged to know if he could assist me in any way. He invited me to his house; but I told him that I should have no opportunity for a visit, and merely requested the favour of a ticket of admission to the jail. He directly furnished me with the latter; and as if willing that the few minutes I could spare, should be improved to my advantage, began to ask my opinion of their Courts of Justice. So much pleasantry and politeness I seldom witnessed in America at a first interview.

But if I were to relate all the instances of politeness in those to whom I had letters, I should fill a volume. I therefore prefer showing the general polite behaviour of the upper class, by a reference to the important subject of slavery. I was cautioned by several gentlemen in Pennsylvania and New York, not to introduce it as a topic in any company in Virginia, as with my

sentiments on it, I should probably excite ill will and subject myself to obloquy. I could not however take their advice so far as to close my mouth on the subject. I introduced it several times; and after I had a little ascertained the feeling of the inhabitants, so as to know how to treat it in the least offensive manner, I spoke about it with great freedom. My remarks were listened to with patience, and in almost every case met by great composure. Whatever might be the feelings of the Virginian planters, they had so much politeness as not to take offence at the boldness with which I condemned slavery, although not accustomed to hear it spoken of as it was by me. I had one most remarkable instance, that my freedom so far from giving offence, was received with good humour and politeness, that it deserves recording. In travelling by the stage from Lexington to Staunton, I had as fellow-passenger a planter, who had just returned from Louisiana, whither he had been in search of land, he having it in contemplation to cultivate sugar there. He informed me very candidly of the horrible condition and treatment of the slaves in that State. I gave him my opinion of the impolicy and injustice of slavery in unequivocal terms, condemning it as disgraceful to the country. To suppose that my remarks

were agreeable would be preposterous, as he was by his own account the owner of several hundred slaves; yet so little was he disposed to take in ill part what I said, that on my telling him I was proceeding to Harper's Ferry, he gave me his name and address. His house, he said, was only twelve miles from that village, and if I would call and pay him a visit, and stop a day or two with him, he would lend me a horse to ride there, and his servant should go with me on another to bring it back. Was politeness ever more conspicuously manifested? I regretted that I had not an opportunity of at least giving him a call; but I found that it would too much interfere with my arrangements. If slavery could be discussed with a Virginian planter without reference to his own interests, and as a mere abstract question, the abstaining from recrimination would not be worth remarking. But when it is considered that a great part of his property, or supposed property is in slaves, great credit is due to him on the score of politeness. Satan said that Job would curse God to his face, if he destroyed his property; and it would cause no wonder to find a slave-owner retorting with asperity, when the institutions on which the stability of his property rests, are attacked. The forbearance must therefore enhance our sense

of his politeness. How much then must it be increased when a person behaves as this gentleman did to me!

I several times witnessed a trait of politeness of a very striking kind. On calling at a house after the family have dined, they have had a cloth spread for me, and that I might feel myself thoroughly comfortable, one of them has taken a seat at the table and eaten a little to bear me company. I remember an instance of this in the mother of the family at New York, with whom, as I mentioned in the preceding chapter, I unexpectedly contracted a warm friendship. She was one of the politest women I met in the United States, or indeed have met in the course of my life. But hardly any of the numerous cases of politeness I received, is more strongly impressed on my memory, than one which occurred to me at a time when my feelings were painfully excited by distressing intelligence of a domestic nature. I called at a house to which I had before been introduced, when on mentioning the circumstance, such sympathy was manifested as was truly grateful and consolatory. A lady put into my hands a short poem suitable to the occasion, and endeavoured to make me feel as lightly as possible the cause of my affliction. The polite-

ness shown in the moments of gaiety is pleasing; that in those of sadness tends to excite gratitude.

Lest the accounts I have given should however lead to the supposition that nothing but politeness prevails amongst the upper class in America, I must state that I met with two instances of repulsive coldness in gentlemen to whom I delivered introductory letters, though these letters were from a high quarter, and that one of the members of Congress behaved like a brute. Some travellers would probably dwell on such behaviour with malignancy, and exhibit it as a specimen of the national character. This however would be evidently unjust; for in all countries, there will be some of manners below the general standard. Where that standard, as in America, is high, the contrast becomes more striking. If their politeness is in any respect deficient, it is as it respects gentility. It is plain that they do not, in general, understand the art of doing little things with grace. I could not but notice that when as a mark of respect, some small present was tendered to my acceptance, it was not done in that captivating manner which imparts value to a trifle for the sake of the donor; yet in minute attentions they are not backward. No person of proper

sensibility can mix in American society of the better sort, without feeling the spring of gratitude, affection and cheerfulness. Where politeness is joined to other good and amiable qualities, how can it be otherwise?

Those who are unwilling to admit that the Americans are deserving of praise for their politeness, will perhaps urge that the instances I have given, are rather those of civility than politeness. But I confess that I cannot consent to consider them in that character solely. Civility may certainly be a constituent in the behaviour of one who knows not how to be polite, but when civility is shown by little acts of kindness which are prompted by a desire to please, and is united to suavity, it would be unjust to deny that it is entitled to be called politeness. This is the description of American politeness which is most generally visible. Whether it would be improved by the addition of complimentary gesture is a matter of taste; but that it is not deficient in the more essential requisites I must maintain. I saw several whose manners would, I believe, be admired in any court of Europe, provided that the fact of their being Americans was unknown; for many persons seem to have adopted the idea that republicanism and

refinement in manners are incompatible, an error which a short visit to the United States is sufficient to dissipate.

Perhaps I cannot more strikingly illustrate the effects of their politeness in conjunction with other good and amiable qualities, than by adding, that on taking leave of many of them, I felt a wish arise in my heart, that our acquaintance might be renewed in a higher and better state of existence. I remember that on one such occasion, Addison's Vision of Mirza occurred to my recollection, particularly the part where the Genius asks Mirza, if the habitations he had viewed were not objects worthy of his ambition. My heart responded, that the hope of enjoying everlasting happiness with some of the characters I have mentioned, was indeed a sufficient stimulus to become a candidate for the favour of Heaven.

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGION.

THE importance of religion in civil society is too great not to demand great attention. No people, except perhaps the savages of Australia, have ever existed uninfluenced by religion of some kind. The characters of nations have been changed by it, and its revolutions have been as great as those of governments. In America, its effects, though similar to those it has produced in England, are not so exactly correspondent as to be passed over unnoticed.

Assemblies of almost every denomination of Christians exist in the United States, generally in harmony. No religion being in alliance with the government, one great cause of jealousy and dislike is removed. No large endowments being in possession of any denomination, and the incomes of the clergy being regulated in nearly all cases by their congregations, but little disparity of station in society exists amongst them. Hence the proud, consequential air so obvious in some of the English clergy, is seldom or never seen. Nor is there much appearance of dif-

ference in dress between the clergy and the laity. Except that black is a more prevalent colour among the former than the latter, I observed nothing by way of distinction. Yet though without a badge to impress the populace with the opinion of sanctity, without gilded chariots to loll in, without the prospect of obtaining rich sinecures to operate as a stimulus, they have great influence. The rivalship between the different sects, instead of producing a constant jar as might be supposed, seems to be productive of a decent observance of religious duties amongst all classes. In few countries, if any, is public worship more generally attended than in the United States. Instances of openly avowed deism are rare. Persons who hold deistical opinions generally either keep them to themselves, or veil them under the garb of flimsy hypocrisy. I recollect only two persons of all with whom I conversed on religion, who unhesitatingly proclaimed their disbelief in Christianity; though I met with several whom I suspected to be concealed deists. In many parts a man's reputation would be seriously injured if he were to avow himself one.

But though instances of avowed deism are rare, a strong deistical feeling is apparent in the

opposition made to missionary societies. Those societies have certainly deputed persons to the task of heathen conversion, who, in many instances, have been as little qualified for the duty as Robespierre to establish liberty. But because some of their agents have acted improperly, sometimes manifesting undue presumption, sometimes interfering too much with political affairs, and on most occasions evincing fanaticism, are we to infer that no good has resulted from their labours? Far otherwise: but the American opponents of those societies have endeavoured to persuade the public that evil, without any redeeming qualities, has been the result. On examining some of the numerous pamphlets on missionary societies, I was struck by observing that the opposition to them was not founded on a well grounded jealousy of the cause of Christ being injured, but in a concealed hatred to vital Christianity. Yet neither their labours against missions, nor against Christianity itself (which though concealed, are still apparent), have had the effect of withdrawing public support from them: still less, of inducing a neglect of public worship, or a contempt for the practisers of it.

From these circumstances, those persons who

suppose that a compulsory provision for the clergy is necessary to the support of Christianity, may see the groundlessness of their opinions. They may also learn that ecclesiastical authority may be maintained without an alliance with the State, in matters purely ecclesiastical. Prelacy, both Protestant and Catholic, is established in America; and though with respect to the latter, it has been found defective on one or two occasions, that is no more than has been the case in England and Ireland with the Established Church. So long as Virginia continued a British colony, the episcopal clergy were supported by tithes, or rather by a smaller provision of the same nature. In whom the superior authority was lodged I cannot state, there being no bishop in the colony. But I was assured by many persons that they were exceedingly lax in morals, and negligent of their duties; so much so indeed, that their Church sunk into disgrace from which it has not yet fully emerged. After the alliance with government was broken, an amendment was soon perceptible; a convincing proof of the inutility of the alliance. Another point of importance proved by the experience of America is, that edifices for public worship will be built and kept in repair, without any rate being levied on the inhabitants. Not only so, many

of them are not merely commodious and comfortable; they are ornamental. Their number too, seems quite as proportionate to the population as in England. This is exemplified in the following list of those within the limits of the city of New York, which will be examined with interest by such persons as like to trace the progress of religious sects. It was made out in the summer of 1823:

Episcopalians	15	Moravians	1
Presbyterians	14	Evangelical Lutherans	1
Methodists	13	New Jerusalemites	1
Reformed Dutch	10	Reformed Presbyterians	1
Baptists	10	Associate Presbyterians	1
Friends	4	Universalists	1
Lutherans	2	Unitarians	1
Catholics	2	German Reformed	1

Besides these, there are a Mariners' Church and one at the Alms-House, neither of which is exclusively for one body of professors, and a Jews' Synagogue. The population for whose use they are built, is about 130,000. Let this statement be compared with a similar one of Liverpool, Manchester or Birmingham, and it will I believe be found to show, that accommodations for worshippers are equal, if not superior to those in each of those towns. Yet, be it again observed, that every one in the United States is left at liberty to pay or not as he thinks fit, or, if

there be any exception to this, it is I believe only in the small State of Rhode Island, where the original colonial charter is still in force: yet even there, it is optional with the person paying, to fix on the sect to which the amount levied shall be transferred.

On looking over the list of the New York Churches, I was much struck by there being none belonging to the Congregationalists, who are so numerous in New England. I suppose that when persons of that denomination settle at New York, they join the Presbyterians, who differ from them only in church government.

Whether the Universalists correspond precisely in doctrine with the same people in England, I do not know. But this I know, that I was never so scandalized with the gloomy tenets of Calvinism, as with the principles contained in a book published by one of the most distinguished Universalist preachers in America. The Calvinists reason on premises from which it is clearly deducible that God was the author of sin, though they themselves pretend that their principles are adverse to such a deduction. But what the Calvinists shrink from, this Universalist author unhesitatingly maintains; and it is

worthy of note, that he argues on Calvinistic grounds. No wonder therefore need be felt, that the Calvinists denounce Universalism with particular acrimony, just as persons are more angry with their professed friends who make an injudicious defence of them, than with their enemies who boldly attack them. The proverb too is verified that extremes meet.

Often hearing mention made of revivals of religion, I was desirous of knowing what is meant by them. I found that the term was applied, to a sudden and general appearance in a neighbourhood, of conviction for sin and desire of holiness. On learning some particulars of these revivals, it was evident to me that there is often much deception in them. No doubt, on particular occasions of great calamity, such as pestilence or earthquake, men's minds are awakened to the necessity of preparation for death. Many at such times think seriously of salvation, who never thought of it before, as the fear of sudden death has a powerful operation on the mind. But it is difficult to suppose that on ordinary occasions, in the midst of health and comfort, a general change from carelessness to seriousness can often occur. There is therefore no uncharitableness in attributing most of these

revivals to fanaticism or hypocrisy. Human nature is so apt to deceive itself, that cases innumerable might be cited of the workings of imagination having been mistaken for the influence of the Holy Spirit. The early Methodists fell into such errors, as is proved by their groanings and frantic gestures; irregularities which the present Methodists in England discountenance. Nor were the Friends free from them, as may be seen in the case of Naylor mentioned in Hume's History of England, and in the lives of several of their ministers who candidly acknowledge them. In proportion as knowledge is diffused, we may expect persons will be more cautious in attaching importance to these revivals; yet men of education and even erudition are at present in the habit of laying stress on them: at least, I found that to be the case with several. I doubt not that God is ready at all times to show mercy to the sincerely penitent who resolve to forsake their sins; and when a reformation has taken place in their conduct, they will be desirous of influencing others to holiness by their example; but though the effect may sometimes be extensive, in most cases it will be gradual.

These religious revivals are not confined to adults if we are to believe their advocates, but extend

to children. I was diverted, though at the same time rather displeased, at a relation which was made to me by a gentleman, of a revival in the town of Petersburg, when amongst other things, he mentioned the particulars communicated to him by a little girl, of her experience in religious matters. There can be no doubt that a child may be influenced by religious feelings at a very early age; but it appears to me to be as absurd to teach a child who scarcely knows the right hand from the left, to talk of her experience in the work of conversion, as to listen to a lecture from a swineherd on court etiquette. It is probable that the accustoming of children to talk much on religious subjects, may induce a habit of superficiality, adverse to that very prostration of soul which is supposed to be encouraged by it. Religious conversation, when conducted in a right frame of mind and at suitable times, is one of the strongest means of encouraging piety and humility: but when commenced at random on improper occasions, is generally as little beneficial as indigestible food to a weak stomach. The advocates for religious revivals have I fear in too many cases produced evils by encouraging those to talk, whom they should rather have persuaded to silent meditation, and in particular by persuading children

to use language fit only for their elders. Let it never be forgotten that in the time of Oliver Cromwell, there was more constant talk about religion joined to more hypocrisy than at almost any other period.

I have said that harmony generally prevails amongst the different denominations. I happened to call at a house at Norfolk in Virginia with an introductory letter to a clergyman, at a time when he was immediately able to give me an opportunity of witnessing something of it in that town. Several of his clerical brethren of different denominations, had met at his house to discuss some missionary proposals. They gave their views of them in a manner testifying much cordiality. I observed that they generally used the appellation of brother in addressing each other. After listening some time to the discussion, I requested to give my opinion. Though quite at variance with theirs, they heard it without showing any of that impatience so characteristic of bigoted minds. I was favourably impressed with their zeal and charity, two virtues often widely separate. The only instances of hostility to others that came under my notice, were to the Universalists, Unitarians and Jews. But then it is to be considered that the other sects

look upon them, as the inculcators of doctrines adverse to the well-being of any Christian community. But except hearing them branded as Deists, an appellation assignable to those only who deny that God has ever revealed his will, I noticed little in the language used respecting them inconsistent with Gospel charity. Doctrines and principles may be condemned in strong terms, without asperity to the teachers of them. Protestants generally proclaim the adoration of the elements by Catholics as idolatrous and damnable, yet there are few, it is presumable, who would dispute the piety of such men as Fenelon, Sir Thomas More, or even that doughty champion Bellarmin.

When I was at Washington a Unitarian clergyman preached before Congress in the House of Representatives, in which worship is regularly performed every week during the session, the minister for the day being chosen by the Speaker. The following week an Episcopal clergyman in his own Church, denounced the Divine vengeance on the nation for allowing its legislative body to be corrupted by Unitarian doctrines. This, and another fact I am going to mention, may show that bigotry sometimes rears its head; for bad as Unitarianism may be

thought (and to me it appears irreconcileable with the Gospel covenant), surely the circumstance of a single sermon being preached before Congress, is insufficient to call for such terms as were used by the Episcopalian. And what is to be said in defence of a Presbyterian clergyman in New York, who published a sermon entitled, "The Pestilence a punishment for public sins," when amongst the causes assigned by him for the city's being visited by yellow fever, we find one to be, that the citizens had elected a Jew to serve the office of sheriff? Just as if God should be more offended with the people during a Jew's shrievalty, than at any other time. A Jew is as competent to have the custody of prisons, as to transact merchandise; and who would think it wrong to employ a Jew to act as agent or broker?

The affairs of most of the churches are regulated by annual conferences. I attended a sitting of that of the coloured Methodists, being admitted by special favour. The discussions were maintained orderly. Great care was taken in the appointment of deacons to exclude unfit persons. I was also present at the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, the doors of which were wide open. There seemed to be more ora-

torical display than evangelical humility. The Moderator made one remark during my presence of very questionable soundness. "It is better," said he, "to decide amiss, than not to decide at all." I believe that the Presbyterians pray for divine assistance in the settlement of their affairs. If so, is it not something akin to mockery to decide so hastily as to endanger justice? Yet this remark of the Moderator passed without comment.

Before dismissing the general subject of religion, it is proper to state that in the remote settlements, little or no public worship takes place at stated times. But when an itinerant preacher or a missionary, chances to be at one of them, he generally collects the inhabitants and worship is performed. After a time, some one amongst them, if no regular minister be present, reads prayers and gives out a hymn at a stated place and time, and thus by degrees a congregation is formed, sufficiently large to build a church. It may here be proper to mention that Deism has been so far abandoned by some English Deists who emigrated to Illinois, that they have established weekly worship under the Christian name, from a conviction of its salutary influence on the welfare of their settlement. How forcibly does this demonstrate the excellence of Christianity!

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EPISCOPALIANS.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in America is a scion of the Church of England. It extends into most parts of the country, and has nine or ten dioceses. As it has in several respects deviated from its mother-church, and as its present state must be interesting to Englishmen, I propose to give a few particulars concerning it.

A Convention of each diocese is held annually, the Bishop presiding as chairman, and having a casting vote; and a general Convention of the whole church is held triennially. The latter consists of two houses, the Bishops forming the upper one, and clerical and lay delegates the lower. Perhaps this assembly would be more appropriately called a Conclave, as all its proceedings are with closed doors. Like the Church of England, this Church is divided into two parties, one giving an Arminian, the other a Calvinistic interpretation to its obscure articles. I apprehend that these parties are much more nearly balanced in America than in England;

though I believe the Arminian party has the ascendancy in the former as well as in the latter. The gradations of rank amongst the American clergy are scarcely perceptible. They have no Archbishop, no Archdeacons, no Deans. The incomes allotted to the Bishops are not so enormous as to place them at an almost immeasurable distance from the inferior Clergy, and they are not exempted from parochial duty; yet I heard no complaints of their want of attention to their episcopal functions. The senior Bishop takes precedence of the others by courtesy, but has no spiritual authority over them.

Sir Richard Steele observes, that the difference between the Churches of Rome and England is, that the Church of Rome is always in the right, and the Church of England never in the wrong. Certain it is, that since the days of Archbishop Laud, the latter has been as careful as the former to guard against innovation, that word which intimidates so many from the attempt to effect improvements however essential. The Church in America, however, has made various alterations in the Articles, the Liturgy, and the Ceremonies; most, if not all of which are such, as would meet the concurrence of the most enlightened men in the Church of England, if

once introduced. It would have been surprising indeed, if the reformers from Popery had been able at once to free their minds from all the prejudices of education, and establish a church conformable to pristine purity. As well might we expect to find a man who had long been confined in a dark dungeon, capable of bearing the full light of the sun when brought suddenly to view it, without being dazzled and overpowered by the brilliancy. Yet were there some amongst them who would have proceeded further in the work of reformation, could they have persuaded their brethren to act in unison with them. Of this number was Bishop Hooper, one of the first martyrs to the cruel bigotry of Mary, and whose name deserves to be had in everlasting remembrance for his faith, zeal and willingness to suffer. But for the untimely death of Edward VI. it is probable that the wishes of Hooper and his friends would have been in part realized; for that pious prince was favourable to needful changes. But Elizabeth so far from desiring to carry forward the work of improvement, used her influence to thwart it. She had considerable attachment to some of the discarded ceremonies; how then could she wish to place the Protestant Church at a still greater distance from the Catholic? James I. made

several wise regulations in Council, for the benefit of the Church, but from causes which are not sufficiently known, several of them continued inoperative. The troublous times which followed his reign, were not adapted for a calm and judicious examination of abuses in order to their removal. The minds of men were drawn to abuses in the civil government, and when afterwards the contention between the king and parliament became religious, the ground of dispute was not the refusal of the former to make needful alterations in the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church, but the propriety of supporting episcopacy. The harsh treatment which many of the loyalists received from Cromwell, nearly all of whom were averse to the Presbyterian Church established under his sanction, led them to cling pertinaciously to every part of the overturned Church. Hence almost immediately after the Restoration of Charles II. the Directory was superseded by the Book of Common Prayer, the supporters of episcopacy showing at the same time very little desire to conciliate the advocates of presbyterianism. The attempts to produce uniformity were evidently conducted in an unyielding spirit, and ended in the settlement of affairs much in their former state. Some partial attempts have been made since that period, but

always unsuccessfully. The reason why the dignitaries of the Church are averse to any alteration, is to be found in the fears they entertain, that no reformation in spirituals can be effected without endangering the temporalities. Thus, notwithstanding the opinions of such men as Lord Bacon, Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Burnet and Bishop Watson, errors and inconsistences are continued from age to age, as if their removal were unnecessary.

In the United States, there were no large ecclesiastical possessions to be put in jeopardy; accordingly, almost immediately after the Independence, and as soon as the different episcopal congregations were consolidated under a general head, some alterations were made. From time to time others have taken place; and the object of the remainder of this chapter will be to exhibit the most material of them, with such remarks as may suggest themselves. As the present state of the Episcopal Church is comparatively little known to the English public, the statement cannot fail to be interesting to many.

In the first place let me mention that the Athanasian Creed is omitted. Archbishop Tillotson wished the Church well rid of it; and a

very good riddance it is for the Americans, since whatever tends unnecessarily to produce disunion as that creed does, is improperly retained. Suppose that a Bishop or other dignitary, were at the present day to draw up a creed, and append to it a remark like this; "This is my belief, and if you do not believe as I do, you will be damned," would not every person censure his presumption and arrogance? Why then should any particular respect be paid to the Creed of the Bishop of Alexandria? True, he lived 1500 years ago, but darkness had then spread over a great part, perhaps the greater part, of the Christian Church. The damnatory denunciations in the Athanasian Creed, are uttered, it is presumable, by few persons without some mental reservation. Bishop Burnet candidly admits that they are not to be received without qualification. How lamentable is it then, that they should be continued at all! The creed itself seems to aim at explicitness on a very mysterious subject, which it would be better to leave in the words of scripture. The Americans have acted wisely in rejecting it altogether.

The Article respecting the Homilies contains a proviso, that those parts of them bearing on the laws and constitution of England are to be re-

garded as of no authority. This proviso was of course necessary, but perhaps it would have been better if the Article had been omitted. Why is it necessary for a Church to testify, that a volume of sermons written three centuries ago, contains Christian doctrine? It seems quite ridiculous to make a fundamental article respecting them. If we examine the explications of Burnet or Tomline, we shall find that neither of those prelates attaches so much value to them as to render it apprehensible that the Church if new modelled, would think the retention of the Article indispensable. Besides, there are several reasons, which so far as I have information have never weighed with the Americans, why it should be discontinued. The apocryphal books are often referred to in them as if they were canonical. The Book of Wisdom is quoted eleven times in the Homily for rogation week. That of Baruch is cited as part of the scriptures in the first Homily against rebellion, and he is twice styled a Prophet. In the second Homily of almsdeeds, the Book of Tobit is mentioned as an inspired work, and in the sentences to be read at the offertory, it is placed with those of acknowledged inspiration. How are these particulars to be reconciled with the sixth Article? In the Homily against rebellion, the doctrine of passive

obedience and non-resistance is insisted on in such a manner, as to condemn totally the struggle of the American colonies against the power and authority of Great Britain. In that on the peril of idolatry, there are one or two positions, which would, I suspect, be received by the American churches in a limited sense only. The first Homily on swearing, contains a paragraph in which matrimony is spoken of as a sacrament. But the most remarkable passage occurs in the third Homily on Charity, where Henry VIII. is characterised as God's faithful and true minister, enlightened in heart by him, and endowed with the same spirit as Jehoshaphat, Josiah and Hezekiah! Taking these things into consideration, it may be reasonably concluded that the Episcopal Church in America would have acted more consistently in omitting the Article under notice, than retaining it with so partial a qualification as it has done. A principal cause for its retention was, I apprehend, a desire to be as near the Church of England as possible. The latter body could well dispense with it; but a fondness for antiquity would make many averse to yield it. The retention of things after their original use has subsided, is that to which all public bodies are prone; but, like the wooden centreing of a stone arch, they are better re-

moved when no longer of use: they cumber without beautifying.

The thirty-seventh article is thus worded. "The power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men, as well clergy as laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who profess the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted." In this instance, the American Church differs essentially from the English. Would our controversialists admit that the king's authority is confined exclusively to temporals? Certainly not; because that would be to deny his claim to be head of the Church, and his right to appoint special days for fasting or thanksgiving.

In the marriage ceremony those parts are omitted which offend modern delicacy, as well as the nonsensical phrase, "with my body I thee worship." It is remarkable that the ring is still retained, for what can be more Popish? In the reign of James I. Lord Bacon suggested that its use was objectionable, as appearing even to the vulgar, a ceremony not grave enough. Now if, two centuries ago, such was the opinion en-

tertained of it, where can be the advantage of it at the present day? It is supposed that the ring in matrimony, and the signing with a cross in baptism, were continued by the reformers to conciliate some whose Popish prejudices were strong. The American Church has decided that the latter shall be omitted by the minister, if the parents desire it. Why should not the former be put on a similar ground?

In the burial service, instead of the clause, "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," they have substituted, "looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come." Those who consider how many minds amongst both clergy and laity in England, have been dissatisfied with the original words, will most likely think that an alteration was called for. If it were proposed to change the words adopted for those discontinued, I believe few or none would be found to advocate the change.

The Commination for the first day of Lent has been struck out: but I suspect that several if not most of the English Clergy and Bishops would be reluctant to give it up. And yet it has been called and not without reason a solemn farce.

What are we to think of a Church, which for three centuries has been expressing a wish to have a godly discipline restored, and yet has made no attempts at a restoration? But there is another, and perhaps a weightier objection to the Commination. The Congregation are taught to make solemn profession to God that they do then, individually and collectively, turn to him with weeping, fasting, and praying. In how few instances, this can be said with sincerity, let any impartial person judge.

In the office for the visitation of the sick, sundry prayers are added, while the form of absolution is omitted. It is indeed lamentable to think, that the Protestant Church of England should retain one of the most objectionable parts of the Church of Rome, especially as few of the Clergy really believe they possess the power of pardoning sins. Yet how strong are the words! "Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." What is the meaning of this? Taken according to its

short of it, is here maintained. If a meaning not obvious to common understandings be to be drawn from it, why are not the words altered? It is very dangerous in religious as well as in civil matters, to say one thing, and mean another. It is worse than speaking in an unknown tongue. But the Americans have not been consistent in one point; for though they have rejected the sentence just quoted, they have retained in the ordination service, the words spoken by the Bishop empowering the minister to forgive sins. If they believe that such a power is conferred by ordination, why have they struck out the only passage in the prayer-book where it is put in requisition? I was present at the ordination of a Bishop in a church in Philadelphia, on which occasion a sermon was preached by the Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, who enlarged on this very topic. As far as I was able to understand him (for his delivery was languid and wearisome), he insisted that the power of absolution given to the Apostles, had as a matter of course descended to their successors. If such be the opinion of the Episcopalians in America, I know not how to account for their rejection of the sentence before given.

Several additions are made to the Liturgy. There are forms for consecrating a Church, for

attendance on prisoners, and for private or family devotion. And in addition to the Psalmody, there is a small collection of Hymns allowed to be used. I was surprised in looking over the latter to observe one or two of Dr. Watts's. How must this stagger some of our high Churchmen, who regard the compositions of Dissenters with as much mistrust, as the Chinese the innovations of foreigners.

I suppose that some latitude is given either to the Clergyman or his congregation, in the use of vestments, as in some Churches the surplice is laid aside, and in others the cassock. I was at a funeral at Baltimore one winter's day when the weather was severe, on which occasion the Clergyman was not in any way distinguished from the attendants, he having like them, a comfortable cloak over him. The service consisted of only a few sentences, lasting about five minutes, he thinking, I suppose, that more hurt might be taken by remaining long in the cold, than good from hearing the exhortations. The whole service is considerably abridged from the English.

In none of the Churches in America is there such a person as parish clerk. The responses are made by the congregation at large; a mode

far more impressive than that of hearing them repeated by a clerk in a drawling tone of voice. Another part of worship in which they differ from the English Church is in their style of preaching.. The English clergy preach sermons which are often but imperfectly understood by the illiterate; while the American clergy, so far as I could form an opinion from those I heard, are unambitious of conciliating the pride of learning by elaborate, argumentative discourses, and strive rather to be practical and simple than speculative and complex. The orderly, religious part of the poor in England have become greatly alienated from the Establishment owing to the false notions of the clergy. The Episcopal Church in America seems to be as much in their affections as can reasonably be expected. I once heard part of a sermon preached to a number of poor weavers in London, the style of which was so remote from common apprehension, that I had a difficulty in understanding the preacher. He compared the glory of the future state of being to the prismatic colours; but to one unacquainted with Sir Isaac Newton's optical discoveries, the comparison no more illustrated his positions than black reflects white. Such an egregious departure from common propriety I never witnessed in America, nor indeed any ap-

proach to it. No Protestant church in America could long preserve itself from decay, if such a course were commonly pursued by its clergy.

It is said that the Episcopalians number in their body a greater proportion of the fashionable than the Presbyterians; the reason for which is stated to be, that they are less particular as to dress, and other similar matters. Probably the organs in the Churches of the former allure some. I do not know that the Presbyterians absolutely proscribe them, but I do not recollect having seen one in any of their Churches. On the contrary, the Episcopal Churches are generally furnished with them, where the congregations are sufficiently rich to purchase them. Another cause may be, that concealed and avowed Deists, though for what reason I cannot state, seem generally to prefer the Episcopalians to any other body of Christians. This is well known to be the case in England, and excites no wonder, as it is natural that they should lean to that body which is supported by the most distinguished persons in the land. But in America, where no Church has any legal pre-eminence, and where a Methodist or a Baptist is regarded with as much respect as any other professor, we might suppose that a Deist would as

readily filiate himself with one denomination as another, except where extravagancies in conduct or language take the place of moderation. The friends of the Episcopal Church will probably urge this deistical preference as a proof of its adaptation to its purposes, since persons hostile to Christianity relinquish their opposition when they enter within its walls: its enemies on the contrary will represent the same preference, as indicating that its doctrines and discipline are so little consonant to the strictness of Christianity, that those make alliance with it who would scornfully spurn a purer system. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is I believe undisputed and indisputable.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CATHOLICS.

The State of Maryland being first settled by Catholics, it has a larger proportion of them than most of the other States. Taking the whole country into consideration, their numbers are probably not a tenth of the population. But in no part are they viewed with any jealousy. The people have no more fear of losing their liberties by admitting them to places of profit and trust in the judicial or administrative departments of the government, or by electing them to seats in the legislature, than from an invading army packed and paid by the Pope himself. The American Catholics are as warm friends to rational liberty, and as averse to persecution as the Presbyterians or Episcopalians; and it is as unjust to charge them with the crimes of their ancestors, as either of the other bodies. It is well known that the Presbyterians who fled from persecution in England, became themselves persecutors in America. In consequence of this, and from some charges of a similar kind that can be brought against them in Scotland, Holland and Switzerland, a recent

controversialist in New Jersey has endeavoured to convince his readers that persecution is, if not a constituent part of the Presbyterian creed, at least, a natural result of it. The Episcopal Church of England has shown itself a persecuting Church in various periods of its history. Yet I presume that no candid person would charge any denomination of Protestants at the present day, as wishing either secretly or openly to abet persecution. Why then should the Catholics be viewed with suspicion and hatred? Because, it is said, they have a persecuting creed, and have shown themselves at all times when in power, the friends of tyranny, priestcraft and intolerance. Whatever may be their creed, certain it is that enlightened Catholics have no more wish to tread in the bloody footsteps of their ancestors, than Protestants to kneel at the elevation of the host. And the history of various Catholic countries shows that religious liberty may be enjoyed under them as well as under Protestants. Fenelon and other Catholic prelates have testified as strongly against persecution as their Protestant opponents. Contrast his character with Laud's, and how superior in this respect does it appear!

The Americans finding that no evils arise

from placing all religious parties on a level as it concerns government, are often puzzled to ascertain the opposition made by the English Dissenters to the admittance of the Catholics into power. They can conceive that Churchmen from some fear for their temporalities, may easily be persuaded to think that such a change would be dangerous; but it appears to them unaccountable, that the Dissenters who have nothing to lose and every thing to gain, and who profess themselves the friends of civil and religious liberty, should object to a measure so inseparably in accordance with their professed principles. Whenever I was questioned on this point, I was obliged to confess that it arose from prejudice, and from a little of the old Popish spirit which they charge upon the present Catholics. In countries where there is an equality of rights, there can be no more danger from the Catholics than any other class. The experience of America abundantly proves this; and it is to be hoped will shame intolerant Dissenters (for happily all are not intolerant) into more liberality and justice.

The boast of the Catholics, that their Church is both unchangeable and unchanged, is like other boasts, more than is true. Formerly it was a

persecuting Church. Now, it has ceased to be such in most parts of the world. The beneficial effects of the Reformation were not confined to those who separated from its community: they extended to those who remained in it. The light of reason and common sense diffused at that memorable era, has dispersed much of the ancient darkness in which bigotry and superstition enveloped themselves. Galileo might now support the Copernican system without fear of the Inquisition; Roger Bacon might pursue his chemical studies without the imputation of magic; and St. Dunstan, however good a mechanician, would certainly not gain the credit of having pulled the Devil by the nose. And if some German prince, now and then sets up for a Thaumaturgus, he incurs the laughter of the sensible part of the community. Still, it must be admitted, that it is principally in countries where Catholics are mixed with Protestants, and where a free press is established, that the Popish superstitions and mummeries have lost their astonishing influence on the public mind. In the United States, as in England, Catholicism appears a very different thing to what it is in Spain or Italy. The priests bear a good character; morality has taken the place of lewdness and licentiousness; and processions to dazzle and be-

wilder the multitude are unknown. Still less in America, would the juggle of liquefying the blood of St. Januarius, or the virtuous qualities of the parings of St. Anthony's nails, obtain any credit. If there be persons silly enough to believe in such nonsense, they are prudent enough not to divulge their opinions, lest the general laugh should be directed against them. Even the infallibility of the Pope is treated by the American Catholics, as it was by Henry VIII. in the latter part of his reign. His authority they consider binding when coincident with their wishes, but of no power when at variance. The Bishop of Philadelphia suspended one of his priests; the Archbishop of Baltimore confirmed the decision of his suffragan; an appeal to Rome had a similar result: but regardless of these proceedings, the parishioners supported their pastor. Of course there was a party who espoused the cause of the Bishop; but I believe that few amongst them would consent to an unlimited obedience to Papal bulls. The very circumstance however, of the Catholics having approximated to the Protestants, may be a cause of the reformed doctrines not becoming general amongst them. The grosser absurdities being removed or kept out of sight, those which are retained are likely to be adhered to pertinaciously. The ridicule

of the Protestants is less felt, and less regarded. As a proof of the difference between American Catholicism at the present day, and that of Europe prior to the Reformation, I may mention that a Catholic in Virginia, with whom I was conversing respecting their doctrines and practices, disbelieved that the sale of indulgences had ever been allowed in their Church. The account of Tetzel he viewed as a Protestant fabrication.

The less absurdity there is in any system of religion which has many votaries, the more secure it is of maintaining its ground in an enlightened age. The more enlightened the age is, the less likelihood is there of absurdities being established except under the influence of worldly advantage. Hence, though monachism may obtain a few establishments in America, it is not likely to become extensive; nor is there any danger of the horrible ancient cruelties being revived. A sinful brother or sister will never be told to *go in peace* into the niche, which is to be enclosed on the living victim. Deeds like this, whatever Catholics may say to the contrary, were certainly done in former ages. To deny them is as preposterous as to deny the barbarous Acts of Faith of the Inquisition. That they no longer exist is owing mainly to the

mental light which dawned at the Reformation, and which has been gradually increasing almost ever since. Good government and a free press render innoxious the principles of the Catholics; a truth, which it is to be hoped will in future be disputed by none but those interested in supporting abuses in Church and State. It ought too, to be borne in mind, that when Lord Baltimore settled the Constitution of the colony of Maryland, he established the equitable principle of allowing the eligibility of Christians, of whatever denomination they might be, for all the offices of government. This example being set by a Catholic, in an age when the principles of civil and religious liberty were very imperfectly understood, ought to convince persons hostile to a concession of equal rights to the Catholics, of their own inferior sense of justice. Penn, when he issued proposals for colonizing Pennsylvania, offered protection and equality to all without distinction of religious belief, and guarantied them afterwards by law, for which he has received applause of the highest kind: but the fact is, that he followed instead of leading, in the path of even-handed justice. It was a Catholic who first led the way. All the American States at the present day have Constitutions framed on the basis of the same equality as the colonies of

Maryland and Pennsylvania; the benefit of which is felt by all and acknowledged by all. The colonial legislature of New York had at one time exclusory laws operating on the Catholics: their repeal produced nothing but good. From these circumstances, may we not cherish the hope that the day is approaching, when England will adopt a similar policy towards them? Let not that country which was the first to exhibit to the world a government founded on rational principles of liberty (for the Grecian and Italian republics were badly framed) be the last to perform an act of justice to men who profess the same principles as the Barons at Runnymead.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRIENDS.

THOUGH the Friends are a more numerous body in the United States than in Great Britain, their influence in society at large is evidently less. Instead of co-operating with other Christian professors, as far as they can without compromise of principle, they stand aloof. Instead of trying to find points of union, they seem to delight in proving the incompatibility of reconciling their principles with those of others, in a harmonious design to promote the general welfare of the community. The Friends in England are known to be warm supporters of the Bible Society. The Friends in America on the contrary, are in conjunction with Deists its principal opponents. For though the Catholics are averse to it, they content themselves with neutrality; and though some of the Episcopalians are of similar sentiments, the great body of them are friendly to it. The Friends not only speak against it in private, but some of their ministers denounce it in public. On enquiring of several of them the reason

of their hostility, I learnt that it arose principally from a notion that the Bible Society is founded on priestcraft, and is auxiliary to it. In former ages they say, priests opposed the circulation of the scriptures, from a fear of the people's becoming so enlightened, as to see the road to salvation sufficiently plain without paying for guidance. Now, since the people have learnt to reverence the Bible, priests avail themselves of this sentiment, and advocate the Bible Society to ingratiate themselves into public estimation; since, whether they desire it or not, the Bible cannot be confined to the sanctuary. But the Friends do not confine themselves to the appearance of argument. They speak of the clergy and of other professors with a degree of asperity which their English brethren have long since disused, notwithstanding the examples for it to be found in the writings of some of their early ministers; and which is the more remarkable in the Americans, from the mildness generally adopted by the other religious professors in their country when speaking or writing of those who differ from them.

An examination of the history and regulations of the Bible Society is sufficient to convince an unbiassed person that it did not originate in

priestcraft. . In what way it is peculiarly calculated to support the interests of priests distinct from the well-being of the people, I cannot imagine. At any rate, as the Friends in England are as jealous of priestcraft as the Friends in America, it might be well for the latter to examine anew the grounds of their opposition to an institution which the former support. Let them also discard unworthy prejudice. Were Wickliffe, Luther, Knox, and the whole host of reformers from Papal superstitions, actuated by priestcraft when they translated and circulated the Bible? Did Hooper, Latimer and Ridley suffer martyrdom for the support of priestcraft? Why then should it be supposed that the priests of our time are influenced solely by secular considerations when they promote the Bible Society? And if they are so influenced, is that a reason for supposing that no good can result from their labours? The money wrung from the grasp of the miser at the approach of death as a penance for sins, or that given by the profligate in ostentation, is no less serviceable to the relief of poverty, than that given privately by the compassionate and charitable. The man who performs a good action from a bad motive, may fail to obtain the approval of heaven, but the benefit to others is the same as if the motive were good.

The Bible Society has had some injudicious advocates; fanaticism has had some influence in enlarging the sphere of its operations; and it is indisputable that many of its supporters have been enemies to godliness: but as its tendency is to weaken the strong holds of bigotry, infidelity and superstition, and assist the cause of morality and piety, it seems foolish to oppose it from the supposition that priests make it an instrument subservient to their spiritual predominance and worldly interests. As well might we oppose Christianity itself, because one of the Apostles betrayed his Lord for gain.

But after all, I believe that a strict scrutiny will lead to the conviction, that the opposition made by the Friends to the Bible Society, arises mainly from the spread of deistical opinions amongst them. I do not make this assertion hastily, well knowing that it is one which they will be reluctant to admit. But facts so fully confirm me in my opinion of this matter, that it would be wrong to disguise it. Doctrines such as Fox never preached, and for which the writings of Barclay and Penn may be searched in vain, are now openly promulgated amongst them. One of their ministers resident at Jericho in Long Island, has travelled much in New York, Penn-

sylvania and other States, and by his zeal and talents has raised a party whose views are by no means coincident with those of the founders of the society. He has considerable force of mind and oratorical talents, though he is neither a profound reasoner nor a rhetorician. It is by boldness in avowing his opinions, and fluency of language in expressing them, that he has succeeded in making converts. He is a favourite amongst the young, and those of more advanced age whose principles are unsettled. Such is his influence over his followers, that probably no Pope had ever more implicit reliance placed in him. To call in question the soundness of his doctrines, or their conformity with those which have been always understood as belonging to the society, is a sort of high treason which his followers know not how to pardon, for they are not conspicuous for their tolerance. He teaches that the books of both the Old and New Testament are less valuable than the writings of some more modern authors; that the validity of some of them is more than dubious; that collectively they have done more injury than good; that the doctrine of the Atonement is false; and that neither the primitive Christians including the Apostles, nor the reformers from Popery, nor the early Quakers, possessed that clear discern-

ment of spiritual things which some persons now enjoy. Consequently, so far from paying deference to Barclay's Apology, to the Epistles issued yearly by the Friends in England, or to any of those works which are considered authorities for the right understanding of their principles, he treats them all as of suspicious or dubious import. Now it is remarkable that one who deviates so widely from the generality of his brethren should be suffered by them to preach in their meetings. Their Church government must be very lax, or the fear of a schism must operate to prevent its enforcement. Certainly the Friends in England would not consent to tolerate such departure from their ancient principles in any one of their ministers. If they did not expel him from their communion, they would at least silence him as a preacher.

It need excite no surprise that this person should oppose the Bible Society, for he told me in a conversation I had with him at his own house, that he believed that half the Bible was the composition of uninspired men, and that a large portion of it he did not believe at all. Nor need it excite surprise that his disciples should coincide with him in opinion, as in most cases where a party is formed, the leader of it is unhe-

sitatingly relied on. But it appears extraordinary that those members of the society who so far from uniting with him, use their endeavours to counteract the spread of his principles, should agree with him in denouncing the Bible Society. They do not indeed use the harsh language towards it which he and his followers adopt, but they manifest no friendly feeling towards it, and condemn all active co-operation with it. Amongst the whole body of the Friends in America, few, very few, uphold the Bible Society either actively or passively. Some I believe would render their assistance to promote its object, were it not that the desire of preserving harmony with their brethren prompts them to neutrality. The wish to maintain love is an amiable feeling, but it may possibly lead to error when it urges to a compromise of principle, as by a mixture of liquids their respective properties are sometimes changed. I believe that the indecision of some of the Friends has had a similar effect.

The Friends in Massachusetts have been nearly split into two bodies by a controversy on the power of the Scriptures in effecting salvation; some maintaining and others disputing their efficacy. I do not know that this controversy

has arisen in consequence of any active polemic having exerted himself to disturb the tranquillity of the society. But whatever be its cause, the symptoms of disunion are as obvious in that State as in the middle States. The Friends are generally so mild and moderate in their proceedings, that the parties may perhaps be reconciled; but if any sudden excitement should arise, a disruption of the society seems to me to be the almost inevitable result. The materials are so combustible, that a spark may occasion an explosion. Should such an event take place, the party which adheres to the doctrines of Fox and Barclay, and which embraces nearly all of the acknowledged ministers of the society, would probably make a closer approximation to the primitive standard, than is the case at present in either England or America. The other party would be likely to slide into practices, so much at variance with what has ever been looked on as Quakerism, that the public would bestow upon it some new name.

From the best accounts I obtained of the state of their schools and private tuition, as well as from intercourse with them, I apprehend that the Friends have less learning diffused amongst them than their English brethren. Some of them are,

it is true, exceedingly well informed, and are respected for their literary and scientific attainments by their fellow citizens at large, as well as by those of their own society; yet in general I think they are below their English brethren. It is not very creditable to the Friends, that Penn, who may be regarded as the most distinguished man ever enrolled in their list of worthies, should remain at the period of a century from his decease, without a biographer worthy of his character and distinction. His name is inseparably connected with America as one of her wisest legislators; he stands recorded in the History of England as enjoying the friendship and confidence of one of her monarchs, and as the supporter of popular rights against arbitrary power; and yet in neither country has one of his own profession given the world a religious and philosophical account of his actions. The philanthropic Clarkson who is not a Quaker published a life of him some years ago; but it is a tedious book and full of puerilities.

The Friends it is well known discard the plural pronoun when addressing an individual, always substituting the singular. When asked their reason for this, they allege that the former is a violation of grammatical rule, and that as it

originated in courtly flattery it is at variance with Christian simplicity. The latter reason I shall leave untouched; but I must express my surprise that they should mention the subject of grammar, while they so generally disregard it by using the pronoun of the second person in the accusative instead of the nominative case in violation of all rule. This is a common error in England, and apparently an error without exception in America. There seems also to be an inconsistency, in their refusing to call the days and the months by their common names on the plea of their heathen origin, while they use the names of the planets and other words whose etymology is from pagan deities, without scruple. If the second day of the week ought not to be called Monday, because it was so named in honour of the moon, or of a goddess personating the moon, can it be right to call a deranged person a lunatic, when it is known that the derivation is precisely the same? The Friends in America seem to be increasingly aware, that their principles and practice in the use of language are not in unison. From the opinions which I heard some of their influential members express, I think that some general change may probably take place amongst them before many years.

In several of the States the Friends are exempted from military duty, in compliance with their religious objections to war, they believing it to be, whether offensive or defensive, unlawful for a Christian. In some of the States they are subject to a small fine for refusing to serve. When this fine is levied, they refuse payment and subject themselves to a distraint.

The Friends have been long known to be averse to the punishment of death for crimes short of murder. Some of them carry their opinions so far as to contend, that no legislature acting conformably to Christianity, can decree its exercise even for that crime. These opinions involve them in a difficulty from which those in England are exempt. The latter are never required to serve on juries, their affirmation not being allowed in law to be equivalent to an oath, for the due exercise of any office. But in the United States, where their affirmation is accepted on every occasion, they must take their turn in serving on juries. To this, they make no objection in civil matters, nor in criminal cases punishable in any other manner than by death; but when the verdict of the jury may be followed by a sentence to the gallows, they conceive that by concurring in that verdict, they would become

participators in the guilt of infracting the mild spirit of the Christian religion. It is therefore their practice to solicit of the court, exemption from the office of jurymen in all such cases. Sometimes their request is complied with; sometimes they are fined for their refusal to serve.

In their meetings for worship many of their ministers preach in the drawling tone so common amongst their English brethren, and which is so unpleasant to those unaccustomed to it, that strangers sometimes depart abruptly in consequence. I heard a minister at New York during the Yearly Meeting of the society, whose sermon from its extraordinary sing-song caused a general stare of surprise. How much better would it be to speak in a natural, dignified manner! I believe that their ministers are not spoken freely to, in reference to their defective or faulty delivery. The words of Cowper deserve their attention;

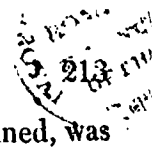
> "I seek divine simplicity in him
> Who handles things divine."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE METHODISTS.

UNDER the denomination of Methodists, I place those only who are the disciples of Wesley; a distinction necessary to be mentioned, because the term is frequently applied reproachfully to those of other sects who are unusually devout. They are, in comparison with the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, not a large body; but as their present rate of increase is I believe greater than that of any other sect, the time may come when they will rank first in number, if not in importance. Some persons in America witnessing their zeal in proselyting, and their tenacity of their converts, have gone so far as to assert, that ultimately there will be only two classes in Christendom, Methodists and Unitarians; or as they are pleased otherwise to express it, those who are influenced by fanaticism, and those who are guided solely by reason. This however, must be admitted to be an extravagant supposition. Still, whether we regard the influence of the Methodists on the populace, or their prodigious increase, they deserve great attention.

Their ministers both local and itinerant, actuated with the zeal of Jesuits, though not with their temporizing principles, have laboured assiduously in all places where vice and wretchedness are congregated. Wherever a society has been settled in such places, a visible reformation has been the consequence. The grosser vices have subsided; and a decent demeanour, combined with I trust true piety, has taken their place. I confess I am no admirer of their pulpit denunciations of fire and brimstone in the gulf of Hell, with malignant devils for tormentors; yet while I see good attend their labours, I infer that the ignorant are more easily roused by such terrible language, than allured by what is attractive in the love, mercy and goodness of the great Redeemer. I was at one of their meetings at a solitary house in the woods of Virginia; the only place of worship it appeared within a compass of fourteen or fifteen miles. The preacher was a young man of that repulsive look characteristic of their ministers. His text was from the Revelations; a book, which from its obscurity, seems to be a great favourite with the whole tribe of mystics from Behmen to Swedenborg and Joanna Southcote, and with most of those who believe that a spiritual signification is couched under the literal sense of every passage. His exposition,



though not what I should consider strained, was not quite so clear or so full as might have been expected. The violence of his language was harsh to my ears; but as a number of negro slaves was present, the discourse might be better adapted for the auditory than one more refined. On reflecting on it afterwards, I was led to the conclusion, that some present might have been aroused from careless security, and others animated to a perseverance in the path of devotedness to religion.

The Methodists are almost the only persons who have paid attention to the religious and moral instruction of the slaves. The Catholics, to be sure, who are slave-owners, have converted the negroes on their estates to their ceremonious worship; but their labours in very few instances have, I believe, extended beyond their own estates. The mass of the free coloured population, as well as of the slaves who profess religion, are Methodists; though congregations exist of several other denominations.

The annual celebration of camp-meetings is kept up amongst the Methodists in various parts of the United States, though the practice is discountenanced by their brethren in England. I

had a great desire to witness one of them, but had no opportunity. I heard various reports of their immoral effects on the youth of both sexes. Probably these reports have little foundation in truth, as the Methodists are generally considered to be a moral people. The success of their labours to prevent drunkenness is said to be great.

If it be enquired why they have been so much more successful in proselyting the poor and ignorant, than other sects who have used endeavours for the same purpose, the reason may be found in their singular policy and the plainness of their preaching. If a poor man be admitted a member of a Methodist society, he soon finds himself of some importance; he may speedily become, or have the prospect of becoming, a class-leader; and if he have a ready utterance, he may be permitted to practise as an exhorter, and perhaps be elevated into a local preacher. That person must be ignorant indeed of human nature, who perceives not that these distinctions are more alluring than the perpetual obscurity attendant on a union with most other societies. The plain, natural style adopted by the Methodist ministers in their sermons, is so much better adapted to the understandings of the illiterate, than the polished diction and balanced

periods of which the Clergy in general are so fond, that we need not wonder at the preference given to them. Let any one read one of the neat and critically exact Sermons of Blair, or of the unimpassioned, argumentative Sermons of Tillotson, or of the redundant though rich and illustrative Sermons of Chalmers, and then read one of Wesley's, where without the charms of rhetoric, conviction is carried to the heart;—and then say which of the four would be the best comprehended by a peasant or mechanic. The extemporaneous delivery of sermons, so general if not universal amongst the Methodists, has its use in preserving simplicity, and giving scope to the preacher to work upon the passions. The reading of written sermons will seldom do more than fill the mind with indistinctness, except the hearers are sufficiently educated to understand logic; unless indeed the sermons be so plain and practical that they cannot be misunderstood. In that case, the understanding may be convinced, and yet, because no warmth is infused into the heart, the impression may be as transient as the shade on a green field occasioned by a passing cloud. The idea of the Clergy who are purposely educated for the ministry, that they cannot preach extemporaneously without confusing themselves and falling into nonsense, is one of

those which is proved to be nugatory by the example of the illiterate Methodists. The sermon I heard in Virginia was as well arranged as one of South's or Clarke's, and yet the preacher had no notes, and did not know that he was to preach till about five minutes before he entered the pulpit. I heard another delivered at the State Prison in New York, which was both regular and impassioned. This was also extemporaneously delivered by a Methodist. Why the feelings should not be operated on as well as the understanding, I cannot conceive. The orator of a popular assembly is often glad to rouse the passions: why then should the preacher be indifferent to the power of pathetic or animating appeals?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SHAKERS.

AMONGST the various sects in the United States, one of the most curious is that of the Shakers. As these people have been grossly misrepresented in some recent publications, and as but little is known of them in England, a somewhat minute account of them seems necessary. The person who must be considered as their founder was Ann Lee of Manchester, a blacksmith's daughter; for though some of the doctrines of the future society were publicly taught by two young men before Ann had adopted them, yet she must have the credit, if any there be, of moulding the elementary parts into a system. On the ground of alleged, and perhaps real intolerance towards her and her disciples, they quitted England for the United States. During a storm on their passage, which was so tremendous as to place their lives in the utmost jeopardy, it is said that Ann was the stay of both passengers and crew. The passengers doubtless paid more deference to her, than the centurion under similar circumstances to the Apostle Paul, for her ob-

scure expressions were treasured up as oracles, and she was as devoutly appealed to as the priestess at Delphi. High pretensions to special Divine illumination, when accompanied by the appearance of sanctity and mortification, have often produced amongst the ignorant this blind confidence. It was by such means that Mahomet secured such devotedness in his followers, and that Peter the Hermit produced the Crusades. If we consider that human nature is in all ages and countries the same, always prone to rely on supposed infallibility, we shall not wonder at the authority obtained by Ann Lee. The disciples gave her the appellation of Mother, but she used to say of herself, "I am Ann the Word!" However foolish or blasphemous this language may appear, it is consonant to their belief that Jesus Christ made his second appearance in her! And they remind those, who shocked at such presumption manifest abhorrence of it, that his first appearance as the reputed son of a carpenter, was no less abhorrent to the preconceived ideas of the Jews.

Soon after the disembarkation of Ann and her disciples, they settled near Albany in New York. For several years, little or nothing was done towards the settlement of a new society; the rea-

son for which I apprehend to be, that they had not a sufficiency of property to enable them to relax from business to travel in pursuit of converts. After a time however, they began in good earnest. Success attended them. As their numbers increased, a new polity was developed; and a society was gradually formed, more peculiar than most that preceded it. They established a community of property; they practised celibacy; they instituted a novel mode of worship, and a system of discipline more exact than that of the army. Instead however of mixing with society at large, they purchased tracts of land, built villages in which none who refused to conform were allowed to settle, and by thus keeping themselves distinct from others, they could easily enforce their strict regulations. By industry and economy, they accumulated considerable property. New settlements were from time to time formed, and their present number is supposed to be about five thousand.

The idea of property being held in common has often been acted on. To say nothing of the early Christians as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, the Jesuits in Paraguay had, as is well known, established a community of property in the districts which they laid out in that country.

One party of the two into which the Dutch Mennonists were divided, did the same thing, and obtained in consequence the title of the perfect Mennonists. The Labadists in France professed and acted in like manner. It is not generally known, but it is nevertheless true, that they extended their system amongst the colonists in Maryland. In other respects too, they were like the Shakers; but they soon ceased as a separate community. The Duhobortsi in Russia, and the Harmonists in Illinois have adopted the system; and at the school at Hofwyl, and in the cotton factory at New Lanark an approximation to it exists. From these various trials of the system of a common property, we may infer that under judicious regulations, it is by no means unfavourable to industry. How extensive it is possible to make the system, it is not now my business to enquire. That it will never become general, will be admitted by most, notwithstanding the arguments in Godwin's Political Justice, or the benevolent enthusiasm of Robert Owen. It must, I conceive, soon be brought to an end, in all cases where marriage is allowed; but as the Shakers practise celibacy, it may continue amongst them for ages to come, if no internal dissensions cause a dissolution of the society.

The men and women, like monks and nuns, live separate from each other; that is, they have separate ranges of apartments; but they dine together, though at different tables. They have social meetings after the day's labour is concluded; and speak familiarly to each other, when they chance to meet during the day. It of course becomes an interesting object of enquiry, whether irregularities like those which have been supposed prevalent in convents, exist amongst the Shakers. Strong suspicions have been entertained by many persons on this matter, nor was my own mind entirely free from them when I first visited one of their villages. I questioned the deacon and several others on this point. They admitted that one or two instances had occurred amongst them, but assured me that the offenders had been expelled the settlement. But I did not satisfy myself with their own account: I enquired of persons resident in their vicinity. One informed me, that he had noticed the men and women when riding together, exchange looks of more than Platonic meaning; but on this person's evidence I could not place much reliance, as he was a sort of rattle-brained madcap. All their other neighbours of whom I requested information concerning them, and I spoke to both poor and rich, concurred in believing them to

be a strictly chaste people. If many improprieties had taken place amongst them, they would in all probability have come to the knowledge of their neighbours by some means or other. My opinion therefore decidedly is, that they are, as they profess to be, of regular conduct. Of their benevolence and disposition to be serviceable to others in case of need, I had many assurances. Their honesty is considered so great, that a tradesman told me, that he would at any time, as readily take the word of one of them as his bond.

I attended one of their meetings for worship, but unluckily was too late to witness the dancing. It is spoken of as being so far from ludicrous, as to deserve the character of solemnity. When I entered the room where they were assembled there was perfect silence. The men habited in a uniform like the dress of the Quakers, sat on benches on one side of the room; the women, also in a plain uniform, on the other. Their behaviour, though decorous, was formal and stiff. No lounging, no stretching of the legs, was to be seen. All sat upright with their hands before them. In a short time, a young man advanced to the vacant space at the upper end of the room, and in a plain, though rather

drawling manner, addressed the assembly. He expatiated on the necessity of self-denial, commented on the deficiency of most professing Christians in this respect, and urged that greater purity was essential than was generally supposed. Not only was excess to be avoided, but restraints were to be imposed on the thoughts. After a pause a hymn was sung; not however in the customary mode, there being, if I remember rightly, no repetition, and but little vocal inflection. The tune, if such it may be called, seemed to be all in one key. I have rarely witnessed more dissonance in union. After the hymn, an elderly man, who was I believe a deacon, rose and spoke to this purport. "I can truly say that I feel thankful for the opportunity we have just had in worshipping Almighty God. It is indeed my brethren and sisters a great favour, that we are able at the present day to worship him in the way we believe to be most acceptable to him, without hinderance or molestation; so different to former ages. May the favours we enjoy, incite us to more watchfulness, to more humility, to more purity; then our reward will be peace: and it is for the enjoyment of this blessed peace that we renounce the world, since its acquisition is of more value than all the treasures of the world."

The Shaker villages are particularly neat. The houses are all nicely painted. The yards are kept very clean. Even the workshops from the absence of dirt and litters, are as comfortable as common sitting rooms. Some of their rules deserve observance by their neighbours, particularly those against spitting on the floor, and shutting doors violently. The household work is performed by the women; the field and mechanical labour by the men. So noted are they for the excellence of their workmanship in whatever they undertake, that the farmers around are glad to trade with them for such implements as they manufacture.

I visited these people at one of their settlements in Connecticut, and at another in Massachusetts; and at both places was hospitably entertained. I was not allowed to take my meals at the common table, the reason for which I did not enquire, not liking to be troublesome with trivial questions. However I was permitted to enter the room where they were eating. The supply on table was plentiful and varied. Nothing stronger than cyder was used for drink. Wine and spirits are sometimes used medicinally, but never as a common beverage. When all had finished, they rose from the table simulta-

neously, arranged themselves in rows opposite each other in the order of their sitting, and then falling on their knees, continued in the attitude of prayer for about two minutes. Their prayers are I believe always mental: vocal prayer at least is rare. My dinner was given to me in another room. One of the sisters, a pleasing, diffident girl about seventeen years of age, waited on me. I conversed with her on different topics; but when I smilingly adverted to their opinions on the necessity of celibacy, she seemed to manifest that I was taking a license scarcely warrantable. I of course turned to something else, and found her quite willing to answer my enquiries. She told me that she had been reared in the settlement, her parents entering when she was quite young, and that she was too happy to desire to exchange her course of life for another.

The Shakers have very little learning amongst them, though one man of some considerable scholastic attainments has enrolled himself in their society. On enquiring for books, they brought me the Bible, and two volumes explanatory of their principles; being I guessed all the books they had; though I make no doubt that at their principal establishment, which is at

Lebanon in New York, I could have obtained a variety. I carefully inspected the two volumes. Amidst a mass of not very intelligible matter, where shreds of scripture were patched with quotations from theological writers, and where obscurity and light seemed blended together like the smoke and flame of a building on fire, I managed to extract their main principles. The following summary may amuse.

Adam was created perfect and destined for immortality. By transgression he fell, and with all his offspring became subject to death. Jesus Christ was sent to restore man to his original state of perfection. His followers were to be distinguished from the rest of mankind by a mark so plain as to be obvious to every one. That mark is a total abstinence from sexual intercourse; consequently, marriage is unlawful to them. Those who conform to his precepts and imitate him in living a single life, become perfect. When his precepts are obeyed, oaths and war cease; superfluity in food and apparel are not coveted; compulsory measures in religion cannot be enforced; anger can never have place; and no vain compliments can be used. Luther, Calvin and the other reformers were men who obscured the light then dawning. Fox and the

other early Quakers were men who bore a faithful testimony to the light manifested, and predicted a further effulgence. This complete illumination began with Ann Lee. All men have not an equal portion of it; but all who act in conformity to what they have, will be saved.

These appear to be the principles of Shakerism. When I asked a Deacon to give me a statement of them, he replied that he was willing to give it, but that he must premise, that if after learning them, I did not embrace them, I should never be easy in mind. It is I suppose by the excitement of fears on this plan, that the Shakers and similar professors obtain an ascendency over the ignorant. But I believe that their numbers are principally kept up and increased by the poor and distressed. If a man or woman be brought into difficulties, and knows not how to obtain a livelihood, a union with the Shakers offers a comfortable asylum. Their rules must to be sure be complied with; but then the labour required is not more than it is easy to perform, and all fear of a want of subsistence is removed, besides having the comfort of decent, warm clothing, and a house to live in, not only weather-proof but neatly furnished. When married couples join the society, they must separate, and live as

though they had never known each other in any character but that of friends. There have been instances of husband and wife with a large family of children joining the society.

I had no reason from any thing I saw or heard to infer that they are not a brotherly or contented people. But I saw abundant reasons for believing that they are strangers to the warmest sympathetic feelings. Their whole system is of a tendency to break the bonds of natural affection. A young man whose parents had introduced him into the society during his childhood, they at the same time entering, told me that he regarded them exactly as he did other members of the society. How should it be otherwise when the parents observe the progress of their children in life, without hoping for their advancement, and the children feel no particular gratitude to the parents? The idea of affection existing independent of external circumstances has been long renounced by philosophers; for certain it is, that if an infant soon after its birth were changed for another infant, without the mother's suspecting the circumstance, she would feel precisely the same interest and affection for the spurious infant as for her own. In the Shaker villages, all peculiar bias is as far as possible re-

moved. The means used are adequate to the effects; and the interest felt by the members is general, and of course rather cold.

I have mentioned that war is one of those things which they believe to be incompatible with the Christian religion. In Massachusetts, the law requiring the performance of military duties is relaxed in their favour. In New York, they are subject to a fine for refusal to serve. For many years they were in the practice of paying this fine; but lately, they have submitted to imprisonment, rather than by paying it compromise their principles. This is as it should be; and if the Moravians were equally consistent, we might hope that their example joined to that of the Friends, would have a salutary influence on the Christian world. War, like duelling, is unfit for civilized people, and will doubtless, agreeably to the sure word of prophecy, sooner or later cease to afflict mankind. Civilization can never be complete so long as the sword is drawn to settle differences. The number of societies for the preservation of peace on Christian principles in America, the firmness I have just instanced in the Shakers, and some other signs of the times, all lead to the belief that improvement in the condition of man is preparing the

way for more harmony between nations than has hitherto been the case. Another dreadful war may desolate Europe in the settlement of the rights of the people on a secure basis; after that we may hope that a new system will produce new results.

The Shakers object to a greater degree of learning than is necessary for the common purposes of life. So far from desiring it as an ornament, they take a very confined view of its utility. They have no idea of the happiness it confers on its possesser; or if they have, they regard the sort of happiness it produces, as undesirable as that arising from the love of women. Man according to them has but two legitimate objects of pursuit; one, the attainment of a simply comfortable existence; the other, the security of the favour of heaven. Whatever pleasures therefore spring from a cultivation of the understanding, or a yielding to the passion of love, are, however pure or refined they may be, to be shut out. With these ascetic notions, it will be readily imagined that their life is monotonous and placid. The spirits of men under their discipline, experience none of that ebullition which is sometimes felt by men of the world, when under powerful excitement. Nothing can

be more opposite to their ideas than the fictitious joys of Odin's hall. Those persons who make happiness consist in quiescence may find it in perfection in Shakerism.

A question naturally arises, whether their system will be of long continuance. I know of no particular cause why it should not, except that the accumulation of wealth may produce a change in their character and habits. When the Benedictines established themselves at Monte Cassino, they were poor, and at least negatively virtuous. They afterwards became rich and depraved. Can we suppose that wealth will be less influential on the Shakers than the Benedictines? And that the Shakers will become rich, I see no reason to doubt. A society where no idlers are allowed, and where none able to work, either male or female, are excused from contributing to the common welfare, must in the common course of things acquire large property. When property more than sufficient for its object is possessed by those who have no intellectual pursuit, the danger of its abuse is increased. St. Jerome, it is said, subdued his passions by learning Hebrew. The secret no doubt was, that his mind was employed on an object sufficiently strong to engross his undivided attention. But

if the Shakers refuse to allow themselves to devote their time to study, the effect of wealth will probably be to introduce excess in the pleasures of the table. Luxury and laziness are generally concomitant, and when once yielded to, produce other evils. If the principles of Shakerism be able to preserve all its professors from contagion, under circumstances like these, a novelty will be exhibited in the moral history of man.

Archbishop Leighton expressed his regret that at the period of the Reformation all monastic establishments were destroyed; and a writer in a late number of the Quarterly Review advocated the propriety of establishing a Protestant nunnery. In the example of the Shakers we have a specimen of the kind. But notwithstanding the comparative mildness of the regulations, and the strictness of morality which I believe to prevail amongst them, I do not think they exhibit such a view of human happiness as to render it desirable to have their example followed. Even if learning were introduced and encouraged, the most formidable objection would remain; namely, that the monastic life is contradictory to the dictates of nature. Christianity doubtless requires, that nature shall be brought under regulations productive of individual and

general good; but it does not require that nature shall be so thwarted as to deprive us of enjoyments compatible with our duties to God and the harmony of creation. The married state, when entered upon with prudence and affection, is found to improve the disposition and enlarge the heart. It adds more than any thing else to the sum of human happiness. The formation of a state of society where it is prohibited, is as unnatural as a government, where there is no will but the will of a despot.

The mention of government reminds me that that of the Shakers is professedly a theocracy. Whatever alteration is proposed, either in the laws or the executive officers, is discussed by the body at large. But no division on a question ever takes place, it being their opinion that the spirit of judgment is given to some, and must be yielded to by the rest. I suppose that the aged and a few leading characters decide the part to be taken on all momentous occasions. Unanimity is probably secured by the fear that refractoriness may be followed by expulsion. If any breach of harmony occurs, the knowledge of it is confined to the members, all their proceedings except worship, being confined exclusively to themselves. Their general prosperity and good

order are indicative of a government competent to its purpose; yet Shakerism as a system, appears like some complex piece of mechanism, beautiful and regular, but liable to be put out of order if any of the concealed springs lose their elasticity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INDIANS.

HAVING mentioned the state of religion in general, and of that of several independent societies, I am led by a natural chain to take some notice of the Indians, whose religion seems to demand more notice that it has hitherto obtained. When Penn first landed in Pennsylvania, he was so struck with their Jewish countenances, and with the similarity of some of their customs to those of that people, that he conjectured they might be the descendants of the lost ten tribes. He supposed, what has since been proved true, that Asia and North America were so nearly contiguous, that they might have migrated from one continent to the other. Whether the Indians Penn saw, were of different aspect to the other tribes cannot now be known, but none of the present race, so far as my observation goes, and judgment may be formed from portraits, are like the Jews. I certainly saw a youth among the Seneca Indians, whom if I had met in Houndsditch, or in any other street in London where they haunt, I should have taken for one of them;

but this was a solitary instance. The customs alluded to by Penn are in degree correspondent to some of the Jewish, but not more so than some prevalent amongst the Negroes in one district in Africa, nor than others amongst the Asiatics. There is however one remarkable particular in which they agree with the Jews, and which deserves the more notice from its being one that no other barbarous people share with them. Their religion is pure theism undefiled by idolatry or symbolical representations of the Deity. But if they were the descendants of the Jews, is it probable that their worship would be without ceremonies? Doctrines may be forgotten or changed, but ceremonies are generally continued, even after their origin is forgotten, and when they are totally useless. Now the Indians have so few ceremonies that it strongly militates against Penn's idea. But how astonishing is it, that they alone of all savage nations should believe in the unity of God, and worship him without the aid of visible objects! With the exception of a tribe or two in Virginia now extinct, who had framed an image to which they paid their adorations, there is not I believe an instance to the contrary on record within the territory of the United States. One of the early colonists in New Jersey, who has left some ac-

count of the Indians in that State, mentions that their worship consisted in the abstraction of the mind from external objects, under the belief that the Great Spirit would hold communion with the soul when humbly prostrated before him. This worship is still practised by them, at least by such amongst them as are religious. They are all believers in a future state of rewards and punishments, which they generally suppose will be of a kind like those desired or dreaded on earth, such as the abundance or privation of corporeal comforts. The great purity of their worship may be a cause why missionaries have been able to effect so little change amongst them. It may be possible, and in some cases comparatively easy to convince a man of the absurdity and wickedness of idolatry; and when that conviction is established, to persuade him of the Divine origin of Christianity. But those who labour to convert the Indians have no such ground to work on. Though the foundation for Christianity is laid, the superstructure cannot easily be raised. If it could have been raised by any people, we might suppose that the Friends, whose principles tally so much with theirs as far as they go, would have done it. But they have effected as little as others. Indeed it would be a very difficult thing to persuade them to em-

brace a religion which forbids war, and retaliation for injuries.

The origin of the Indians, like that of most other nations, is involved in obscurity. Many hypotheses have been formed, but all insufficiently supported by facts to carry full conviction. That of their being the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel has been a favourite one with others besides Penn. A volume entitled the Star in the West, was published by an American a few years ago, for the express purpose of proving its probability. But the author was so incompetent to his task, that his book has the appearance of being the production of a schoolboy. The instances he has given of a few Hebrew words amount to little, since it is well known that they speak nearly as many languages as there are tribes. Many of these may be reasonably supposed to be cognate. But I was assured by Indians of several tribes that they had listened to the conversation of other Indians without being able to understand a single word. There must therefore be a radical difference. The language of one tribe has, as I was assured by a literary gentleman, many Welsh words in it; a circumstance which may be credited without attaching any faith in the idea of Madoc's settlement in

America, since dialects of the Celtic partially intelligible to a Welshman prevail in the north of Africa; and there is an instance on record of a Negro slave who could make himself understood by the Indians in his native tongue. As however the Celtic is traced to an Asiatic stock, and as various peculiarities of the Indians indicate an acquaintance at some former period with the orientals, little doubt need be entertained that Asia was the parent of America. If any exception be made, it must be respecting the Esquimaux who are supposed to be of European origin. Yet some antiquarians in the United States, have endeavoured to show the reasonableness of a supposition, that America was the part of the world first peopled. Recent researches in Ohio and in the district west of the Mississippi, have brought to light some particulars which lead to the belief, that a race of people acquainted with more arts than the Indians, inhabited the continent anterior to them. But that this people was the parent stock of the human race, cannot easily be proved, or elucidated so as to make it appear so probable, as that Asia was the chosen seat for them.

The Indians have made but slender progress in civilization. Though it is upwards of two cen-

turies since the first settlement was made in North America by the English, the Indians are nearly as rude as if they had never had an example of the inestimable benefits of agriculture and the mechanical arts. The cause of this lies deeper than many speculative philosophers have imagined. Since Locke overturned the unstable doctrine of innate ideas, an opinion has been prevalent, that all the inequalities observable amongst men, may be traced to the difference in their capacities and education. Dr. Johnson, by his definition of genius in his Life of Cowley, has contributed to this opinion. He says; "the true genius is the mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction;" and he rejects the notion not only of innate ideas but of innate propensities. He is reported to have said, that Newton might have been an epic poet, or Milton a natural philosopher, and each as eminent as the other now is. Dr. Watts seems to have gone nearly as far. But it may be observed, that as in the breed of horses some are formed for swiftness and others for draught, so in the races of men, some are distinguished for lively imaginations, and others for the exercise of the reasoning faculties; and though I will not go so far as to assert, that men have innate propensities, I maintain that they

have naturally a greater aptitude for some pursuits than others.* And as there are individual characteristics, so there are national. The Germans are said to be inventive, the Russians imitative; the Celts resisted civilization longer than the Goths; and the Indians have a great aversion to labour. Fatigue and privation of food when engaged in war or hunting they can bear; but the fatigue of settled labour is intolerable to them. Nearly all those who have been removed when children from their tribe, and instructed in the arts of civilization, and enlarged in mind by a knowledge of sciences, have in after life returned to the rude state of their nation. A few Indians on Long Island had every advantage for improvement placed within their reach; the experiment of inuring them to labour by early industry was fully tried, but Leviathan was not so tamed. And as a proof how constitutionally they were affected, the children of some of them who married negroes, were brought within the pale of civilization with comparative ease. I saw several of these at a farm-house, who were in the employ of the farmer. They behaved well; and their master told me that he found them docile and tolerably industrious. But if further proof be wanted of the influence of nature on the character, habits and pursuits of mankind, it may be

found in the English gypsies. These people have been roaming over the country for centuries, and though doubtless of more mixed blood now than formerly, are still impatient of the restraints of civilization. Some of them will indeed confine to the towns in winter, and obtain subsistence by acting as tinkers or chimney-sweeps; but as soon as spring returns, away they fly into the country to resume their favourite occupations of pilfering and fortune-telling. A gentleman in Rutlandshire told me, that he had one in his family for some years as a domestic servant, who by being a little humoured, was a useful, handy fellow. This is the only case of the kind I ever heard of; but even this was not attended with the success of reclaiming him from his early habits; for on some of his tribe being in the vicinity, he left the comfortable home of his master where he had an easy life and plenty to eat, to join them in their mode of sleeping in tents and obtaining a precarious subsistence. These circumstances lead to the belief that the Indians will never become a civilized people. A few individuals perhaps may adopt some of the improvements of civilized life. But unless intermarriages with either the whites or blacks take place, I fear no other prospect remains than that of their gradual extinction.

There can be no doubt that the Indians are far less numerous now than formerly. The policy and plans of the American government contribute to their diminution. The territory occupied by a tribe is the general property, and as the whites form settlements around it, is increased in value as an article for sale. To a people to whom spirituous liquors are so alluring as they are to the Indians, the offer of a large sum of money is very tempting. The government agents accordingly, generally succeed in persuading them to accept a price for any land which it appears desirable to purchase. When the Indians have disposed of their land, no alternative remains for them but to strike into the territories of other tribes. In endeavouring to obtain a settlement, a war is the almost necessary consequence. Either one or the other tribe is so much reduced before terms are settled, that if a fresh war chances to break out soon after, an extermination almost total results. The number of extinct tribes is very great. However, it cannot be said that the American government violates any principle of justice in purchasing the Indian territories for its own citizens. And much as we may regret that the aborigines should relinquish the possessions of their fathers to strangers, when that relinquishment is so fatal to themselves, yet

we ought perhaps rather to rejoice, from the consideration that civilization with its concomitant blessings, supersedes barbarism, ignorance and sloth; and that the population is necessarily increased a hundred or a thousand-fold. But though the Americans are clear of injustice in their treaties with the Indians for their land, it is doubtful whether it be consistent with sound policy to purchase to the extent they have done; for from the low price of land it results, that the population is allured from the old settled districts, before they are brought into so great a degree of improvement as is desirable. A large extent of territory badly cultivated, is less conducive to comfort than a small one well cultivated.

The Indians have amongst them much sense of honour. A tradesman, whose dealings with them are considerable, told me that he could depend on their word for the payment of money at a fixed future day, though till he got their promise, he could not be sure of receiving any thing. The sheriff of a county in New York told me that he released one of them from prison, on his promising to deliver himself up on the day fixed for his trial, two others at the same time pledging themselves for his appearance. I

asked the sheriff if he had no fear of losing his prisoner. His answer was, that he had none whatever. The event showed that his confidence was not misplaced.

The best symptoms of Indian civilization are to be found amongst the Cherokees inhabiting the country through which the Arkansaw flows. Several of these have become good farmers, and have adopted the dress and habits of the whites. A person told me that he stopped at a tavern kept by one of them, whose wife sat at the head of the table at dinner conducting herself with complete propriety. Next to the Cherokees, I believe I may rank the Senecas. I visited one of their villages near Buffalo where I found some houses vastly superior to the wigwams formerly their only shelter. On opening the door of one of these houses I observed a man with his wife and daughter busily engaged in making mocasins. On my telling them that I was a stranger from a great distance come to see the Indians, the man rose from his chair and offered it to me with perfect politeness. The next house I called at belonged to one who had been in England. The examples of cleanliness he had seen abroad had been lost on him, for the room was disgustingly filthy. On my telling him that I had seen

him in London, he came forward and offered me his hand which I shook cordially. I then requested that he would show me his skill as a marksman. He immediately took his rifle and walked with me into the forest. Presently seeing a squirrel on the top of a high tree, he aimed at its throat and shot it there. He soon began to ask me if I knew such and such persons in London, telling me not only their names but their trades and the streets they lived in, proving himself to be possessed of a good memory. But I could not find that his journey in Great Britain and Ireland, whatever new ideas it might have given him, had tended to the increase of his comforts by inspiring him with any desire for improving his condition. How lamentable is it that a race of men, like the Indians, gifted by nature with good mental powers, should so resolutely persist in retaining their old habits, and thus remaining stationary, while the South sea islanders, the African negroes, and the Russian boors are all advançing!

After I left this man, I overtook another driving a cart with a yoke of oxen. He enquired of me if I would bargain with him for the beasts. This gave me an opportunity of conversing with him at great length, for he spoke English fluent-

ly. Though with more compass of intelligence and thought than the others, he was still the wild son of the forest. One of his remarks struck me forcibly. I asked him if the Indians had not a dislike to the Negroes. He said, by no means; that they judged of men by their worth, and not by their colour. "Besides," added he, "why should we dislike them more than the whites? The whites came in first, and then brought in the blacks; and the two together have taken away our country, and we are under no obligations to either of them."

Some of these Senecas have embraced Christianity; but I did not learn that they are at all superior in either morals or habits to the rest. An intelligent tradesman resident in their vicinity, insisted that the labours of the missionaries had not only been useless but absolutely prejudicial. He said that he was persuaded, that many amongst those whom we denominate heathen, were men and women of real piety, acknowledging the influence of the Great Spirit on their hearts, reclaiming them from evil and drawing them to good. A people of so much doctrinal purity, are certainly less likely to be benefitted by missionaries, than idolaters and cannibals. One thing is admitted by all travellers to

the western regions of North America, namely, that in proportion as the Indians know less of the whites, the better they are in morals. The accounts published by the missionaries of conversions, triumphant deaths and the like, require to be cautiously relied on. The Indians, so long as they continue Indians, that is, so long as they continue to subsist by hunting rather than agriculture, will in all probability never become sincere, enlightened Christians. They may perhaps become professors of Christianity, but their profession will not give them the mildness and forbearance required by Christianity, unless they adopt civilization. The Friends, sensible of this, have endeavoured to persuade them to turn to agriculture, but after all the labour they have bestowed, their success has been so small, that I should not be surprised if they were ultimately to abandon their object.

CHAPTER XIX.

SLAVERY.

The evils of slavery are felt and acknowledged in the slave States, but I fear that habit, early prejudice, and other concurring causes, have produced a torpor on the subject amongst the inhabitants who are free. It is true that few or none will advocate slavery abstractedly, but most are willing to defend it under existing circumstances. So obvious are the evils of slavery, that in passing from Pennsylvania into Maryland, the former a free, the latter a slave State, I was struck with the difference between them almost at first entering. Instead of neat farm-houses with spacious substantial out-buildings, and surrounding cottages with small gardens attached, where the poor might be supposed to reside in comfort, a different scene presented. The farm-houses large but of slovenly appearance; the barns of rude structure; and the negro huts no better than pigstyes: these were the objects I was obliged to see. As a proof how great is the contrast between Pennsylvania and Maryland, I may mention that as we were in the stage-coach, one of

the passengers suddenly remarked that we had passed the boundary line. I asked him how he knew it as he had never been that road before. He directed my attention to a barn, and said that he knew by that we must have entered Maryland, as Pennsylvania he was sure had nothing so shabby. This was his own spontaneous remark, no part of our previous conversation having been on slavery, or the comparative merits of the two States. In Virginia, I found that the farm-houses had an aristocratical appearance in comparison with the other houses, some of them being not only large, but approaching to splendour. The roads were so bad, as to be in some parts nearly impassable for carriages, and where crossed by a brook or small creek, without even the accommodation of a foot-bridge; a deficiency, which to a pedestrian like me, was a most troublesome inconvenience. On several occasions, I was beholden to persons for the use of a horse for getting over; on others, I had to make circuitous routes to find a ford, or avail myself of the trunk of a tree placed across for the general accommodation. At one place where I crossed, the water was about four feet deep, and the log so unsteady that I had to crawl on hands and knees to avoid the chance of a ducking. If these things had occurred on the newly formed

roads in the western wilderness, I should have passed them as matters of course. But after the good roads and bridges of Pennsylvania, to find such things in a part of the country of older date in settlement, I was led to the belief that the existence of slavery was the main cause of the inferiority.

In New York and Pennsylvania, the work of improvement was evidently rapidly proceeding. Villages were rising up in various places in which I observed many good houses and some elegant ones. The churches were numerous, displaying considerable beauty of architecture. The whole appearance of the new villages was exceedingly comfortable; and every where life, bustle and improvement were apparent. But in Virginia how dismal was the look of things! Few, very few villages attracted the eye. From Richmond to Charlottesville, a distance of eighty miles, there was hardly one deserving the name: in other parts I remarked the same circumstance. The places for worship were small frame houses, built in the plainest manner, having poor accommodations for the frequenters of them. The log-houses of the poor white and free coloured people were little adapted to exclude cold and wet. All seemed dormant. Gangs of negro slaves un-

der the eye of an overseer were at work in the fields; but there was none of that lively, improving aspect so conspicuous in districts where slavery does not prevail.

From these particulars it will be inferred, and with truth, that the injurious effects of slavery are not confined to its victims: they extend throughout society. The masters are indolent, the poor whites are much worse off than the same class in the free States, and the free blacks are horribly degraded. Leaving the situation of the latter for the present, let me glance at that of the whites. When a person is accustomed from early youth to see every description of work performed by slaves, and by slaves of a different colour from himself, he imbibes an opinion which is not to be wondered at, that labour is derogatory to a free white man. When he is taught in addition to this, to consider the blacks as an inferior race to the whites, he acquires not only the greatest reluctance to work, but habits of indolence from which he seldom recovers. And though many of the Virginians are persevering in mental pursuits, neither reason nor common sense is sufficiently powerful to break the trammels of early formed prejudice against manual labour. To show how far this prejudice prevails,

I may mention that as I was walking in Virginia, I was overtaken by a farmer on horseback with whom I got into conversation. He pointed out to me a farm near where we were, the owner of which kept a house of entertainment for travellers, and asked me if I did not admire it. I replied in the affirmative, it being nearly the neatest I had seen for many days. "That farm," said he, "was brought into its present state by the man and his sons who are all whites." I replied that it did them great credit. He assented to this, but added a hint on the impropriety of white men doing the work of blacks, mentioning that it was not till lately that they had a black man for ostler. The alteration in that particular was, he said, very proper. I enquired his reason for preferring the black. "Why," said he, "I think it is degrading to a white man to be an ostler." I told him that I saw nothing degrading in it. "Why then," he replied, "I reckon you are a Methodist parson." I assured him I was neither a Methodist nor a parson; and he rode on, puzzled to make out what I could be, and where I had been raised. As I was travelling on the road which runs alongside that beautiful river the Mohawk in New York, I had as fellow passenger in the stage coach, a Virginian lady who had never been in that State

before. She found fault with every thing she saw; and on enquiring of her why she felt so displeased, she remarked that she could not bear a country where the cows were milked, and the horses cleaned by white people! A sight so different to what she had been accustomed to, operated on her so unpleasantly, as to make her disregard, or at least unwilling to praise, even the beauties of nature. Her vision, darkened by early-formed prejudice, misrepresented every thing.

While such are the feelings prevalent in the slave States, can we wonder that the poor whites should be in a comfortless condition? They are of course obliged to work to obtain a livelihood; but though they have the means of improvement, they neglect to avail themselves of them. They would rather remain in poverty than place themselves above it by hard labour. The small occupier of land in the free States, is an independent, industrious man with children industrious as himself. In the slave States, he is poor and lazy, and his children are brought up without having their powers either mental or corporeal properly developed. The house of the former is comfortable, that of the latter miserable. It is therefore not at all surprising, that the free

States should advance in improvement, in a ratio much greater than the slave States. Virginia, which from its extent and population, was at the Independence of the most weight in the political balance, is now of only third or fourth rate power. But it will be enquired if the slave-holders are not sensible of these things. Sensible of them? Yes; but as those who have been long in the habit of taking opium, though they feel their strength decay, and know that the vital functions are becoming increasingly weak, yet cannot summon resolution to discard the slow, deadly poison, so the effort requisite to free themselves from the evils of slavery, is too great for the slave-holders. They would prefer sinking into inanity, to undergoing such a change as must be produced by the removal of slavery.

So far are the slave-holders from wishing to put an end to slavery, that in nearly all, if not in all the slave States, the legislatures have enacted laws to perpetuate and increase it; and the general government of the United States has lent its aid to extend it into yet unpeopled districts. This may startle those amongst us, who in their simplicity have imagined, that republicanism is more favourable to the rights of man-

kind than monarchy, but it is nevertheless true. Whenever I conversed with persons in America on the subject of slavery, and charged the American people with the guilt of slavery the answer I almost invariably received was, "we are indebted to you for it;" and this seemed quite sufficient in their eyes to exculpate them from any guilt in continuing it. In order properly to understand the subject, it is necessary to revert to the colonial history. The first introduction of slaves into the colonies took place in 1620, being but a few years after the foundation of the first permanent settlement. A Dutch vessel brought a cargo of them into Virginia which the colonists purchased. The trade once begun, was continued without any check on the part of the colonial, or of the English government. It seems therefore rather unfair to charge England with the crime of originating slavery in America, since, though she might have prevented it, she would have restricted the colonies by so doing, in what they supposed essential to their welfare. All that can be fairly admitted in extenuation of slavery at the present day is, that it was introduced, not by the present lords of the soil, but by their ancestors. And if England be considered as a sharer in the guilt, a position I shall not attempt to dispute, that circumstance is no

justification of America for not putting an end to it now. The ancestors of the slave holders entailed the evil on the country; but after admitting this in excuse for the slave holders, it is of importance to ascertain how far they stand clear of equal guilt to their posterity.

When an evil has taken deep root, the skilful eradication of it is a work of difficulty. Slavery had spread itself so widely over the colonies, especially of those in the south, that its sudden removal might have been accompanied and followed by a general disorganization of society. The first object therefore was to put an end to the further importation of slaves from Africa. When it is remembered that our own government did not decree the Abolition of the Slave-trade till 1807, though the question had been agitated for twenty years before, we must render our meed of praise to the Americans for their more speedy justice, as the following facts will prove. Virginia abolished the African slave trade in 1778, Pennsylvania two years after, and Massachusetts and Connecticut soon followed; and finally, the trade was abolished for the remaining States by Congress in 1794. Even so early as 1767 a bill was passed through the Assembly of Massachusetts; but to the disgrace of

England, special directions had been sent to the Governor to refuse his sanction to it. As far therefore as the preliminary measure concerns this question, I am ready to give the Americans full credit for their disinterestedness, justice, and hatred of oppression.

The next step was to enact laws by which slavery itself would gradually cease; for independent of its injustice and cruelty, it was found to be an institution in society which enriched a few individuals, but impoverished the mass; which acted like certain manures on land, producing for a time an unnatural vegetation, luxurious indeed but rank, and so blended with noisome weeds as to be only half as valuable as a crop unmixed with refuse. In the good work of purifying the country, several of the States were not tardy. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and all the States to the north of them, slavery is either abolished, or in a course of abolition. The proportion of slaves in these States to the free population, was certainly much smaller than in those to the south; hence the measure was a comparatively easy one; and there being a large body of persons who were not slave-holders, the influence of the slave-holders was insufficient to continue the evil. In Maryland, Virginia and the

other southern States, nearly all the members of the legislatures were slave-holders. The consequence was, as might be expected, that the voice of justice and mercy would be overborne by the clamour of interest. Prejudice and fear were also in action; and so far from any endeavours having been used to abolish slavery, laws have been passed of an opposite tendency. In Virginia for example, no person can manumit his slave except he removes him from the State, or obtains a special act for the purpose. In both ways, the expense must be great; and in the latter, the attempt would assuredly fail unless under very peculiar circumstances. In Kentucky and Tenessee, the admission of free blacks is prohibited, while that of slaves is allowed! This is putting an end to slavery with a vengeance! But it is not of this or of that State that I shall particularly complain. I say that the whole American people are guilty of extending slavery into regions yet unpeopled, notwithstanding their famous Declaration of Independence, in which liberty is mentioned as a natural and inalienable right. Congress decided that slavery should be allowed to extend into Missouri and Arkansaw, territories not a fiftieth part settled, and where the evil had hardly found its way. Congress is said to be a fair representation of the people.

How then can they acquit themselves of aiding in the continuance and extension of that blot, which they curse England for having introduced? It is no answer to say that the northern States not only have abolished slavery within their boundaries, but that their representatives in Congress were unanimous in voting against the admission of slavery into the territories just mentioned. They have their praise. They deserve well of their country for their exertions and patriotism. But noble as their endeavours were to preserve the country from the foul stain, they failed. And as in every assembly freely chosen by the people, the acts of a majority must be taken for the will of their constituents, the decision of Congress in this case has proclaimed to the world, that the Americans who boast of their love of freedom, are in reality the friends of slavery! I am aware of the constitutional difficulties respecting the admission of Missouri into the Union under the stipulation of a prohibitory act. But how lamentable is it to think that they should have operated against the rights of unborn thousands! The city of Washington in such a case had more the appearance of Vienna or St. Petersburg, than the capital of a people who understand the principles of liberty. But whatever were the difficulties respecting

Missouri, they did not apply to Arkansaw, yet such is unhappily the predilection of the self-styled sons of liberty for slavery, that even that extensive district must be blessed with it! A still more recent instance of this predilection was exhibited in Illinois; and as that State is compounded of the citizens of other States, owing to its being of recent settlement, it may perhaps be considered as good a summary of the people at large, as any one State in the Union. By the present constitution of that State slavery is excluded; and so little agreeable is this to the sons of liberty, that they resolved if possible to obtain a convention to alter it. To effect this, it was necessary that two thirds of the legislature should favour the measure; and so eager were the advocates of slavery to carry their point, that they were driven to a curious and iniquitous procedure. The case was this. The return of one of the members against which a petition had been presented, was referred to a committee, who, after hearing the statement, confirmed the election. When subsequently the motion for a convention came before the house, this member voted against it; and it so happened that one vote short of the requisite number was the result. When this became known, the house resolved that this member whose election had been

declared valid by the committee, should vacate his seat in favour of his opponent. No protestation on his part against such flagrant injustice availed any thing. The change took place. The new member voted on the other side and turned the scale in favour of slavery. Let it be remembered that this memorable event took place soon after the news had arrived in America of the expulsion of a member from the French Chamber of Deputies, which had been denounced in their newspapers, as a proof how little the French understood the principles of liberty. Whether it was a few days before or after the transaction in the Illinois Assembly, I know not; but about that time the following toast was drunk at a public dinner in that State: "A new constitution purely republican, which may guaranty to the people of Illinois the peaceable possession of all species of property." Here then we have them implying that a constitution which prohibits slavery is not purely republican; for by the phrase, *all species of property*, slaves were meant, other property being before secured to them. Another toast at the same dinner was still more explicit; but it is unnecessary to cite it, as the reader must perceive that the matter is plain enough already. It may however be proper to mention another fact relative to another State, to show still more

clearly, how culpable the Americans are as a body, in using their endeavours to perpetuate slavery. The legislature of Georgia decreed that if any of their courts condemned a vessel for carrying on the African slave-trade, the negroes on board should not have their liberty, as every one would have supposed they ought, but be sold publicly as slaves, and the proceeds paid into the treasury. This was actually done in several instances. And if the reader still thinks that the Americans are the friends of liberty, he must have a prodigious stock of charity.

Perhaps it may be supposed by some, who are willing to put the most favourable construction on the acts of the Americans, that their decision to extend slavery into Missouri and Arkansaw, was with a view to extinguish it throughout the United States; emancipation being a measure which might be more easily carried into effect in a country where slaves are scattered over a wide space, than where they are congregated thickly. I should be glad if I could think so. But it is obvious that they had no such object in view. Imaginary interest and a hatred of freedom were the undoubted causes. If the slave-holders in the southern States were desirous of abolishing slavery, would they not ere

now have adopted some preliminary means? I have instanced them, because they were undoubtedly the parties, by whose influence the obnoxious bill to extend slavery, was carried through Congress. So far are they from having adopted any means, that they resolutely contend that the general emancipation of the slaves, even if brought about gradually, would be a pernicious thing, destructive of the peace and and well-being of society. Their argument is, that the slaves are so degraded, so ignorant, so brutalized, that it is totally unsafe to trust them with freedom; for that if they were manumitted, they would avail themselves of their liberty to destroy the whites and become masters of the country. There can be no doubt that to be capable of making a right use of liberty, it is needful to be enlightened. And if the slaves, instead of being enlightened, are so ignorant as to be incapable of enjoying liberty, it would be well for the planters to ascertain, who it is that are chargeable with their present degraded condition. Have the slaveholders established schools for the instruction of the slaves? On the contrary, the legislatures of several of the States have enacted laws prohibitory of education. The real state of the case then is this. The slave-holders having no wish to put an end to slavery, and knowing that if

knowledge be communicated to the slaves, the difficulty of continuing slavery must be increased, have exerted themselves to prevent the establishment of schools, or the communication of any learning to them. By this line of conduct, and by other abominable ways, they have succeeded in degrading the slaves to the utmost of their wishes. And then, when they are asked why they do not institute an emancipation law, they reply by saying, that a people in such a state of degradation as the slaves are, are unfit for freedom. They first degrade them, and then urge their degradation as a reason for not granting them those rights to which nature entitles them. And what is to be said in justification of the law, which throws impediments in the way of any benevolent master who is desirous of liberating his slaves? To tell us that like impediments were sanctioned by the laws of Lycurgus and of the Romans can avail nothing. The Virginian Bill of Rights declares, that "all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain rights of which they cannot deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring or possessing property." And yet if a citizen of that State wishes to do all in his power towards the fulfilment of this declaration, by giving freedom

to a slave, the expense of it is a bar to this act of justice. Unless therefore it can be shown, that the Greeks and Romans had a similar declaration of the rights of man, the example of their laws is neither a justification nor palliation of the Virginians. But as certain religionists profess to believe that faith independent of works is sufficient for salvation, so the Virginians think that their public declaration of the natural liberty and equality of mankind, exempts them from the observance of it.

The degradation of the slaves is not occasioned solely by the want of education. That, though injurious, is far less operative than other causes, a few of which it is right to mention. The nonestablishment of marriage amongst them tends to produce that laxity of chastity for which they are so conspicuous. Doubtless on some estates, marriage is instituted; but I believe that on by far the greater number, the marriage compact if made at all, is made to be broken at pleasure. Very few masters would think of punishing a man who should separate from his wife, and the law has no provision to meet the case. If a master himself desires the company of a negress, be she married or single she has no alternative but compliance: for resistance would be resent-

ed and force used, and no where could she obtain redress. Such is the unhappy condition of these miserable beings! It generally happens, that they become victims at a very early age, to the lust of either the master, his sons, or the overseer. So little regard is paid to decency and the common feelings of mankind, that incest is a crime of by no means rare occurrence. Who does not shudder at the horrid evils of slavery! Charity is doubly blest, and slavery is doubly cursed.

The slaves are not allowed the benefit of trial by jury. This perhaps may signify little to them, for where prejudice is so strong as it is against them, there is but a slender probability of justice being rendered. The magistrates decide on their cases without the intervention of a third party. One hardship and indeed cruelty to which the slaves are subjected, and which tends materially to debase them and keep them in debasement, is their not being allowed to give evidence against a white man. If their evidence be totally unworthy of credence, why are they permitted to testify against a fellow-slave? If some value be attached to it, why are they not allowed to give it? Bolinbroke in his account of Demerara, gives it as his opinion that the evidence

of slaves ought to be received in all cases precisely as that of other men. His opinion is at least worthy of regard, as he is an advocate not only for slavery but the slave-trade.

But of all the degrading measures, scarcely any one appears to me so bad, as that of selling men and women by public auction in a market-place. Look at a poor creature elevated on a table to be seen by the purchasers, having to hear the scoff of one, the reviling of another, and the jokes of a third, and then to be disposed of to the highest bidder like a horse or an ox. Can any thing make such a one feel his own debased condition more than this? When men are placed on a level with the brutes, it is no wonder if they become like them.

As to the general treatment of the slaves employed in domestic service, it is as may be supposed, superior to that of the field labourers. But of the latter I can report, and it is with pleasure that I do so, that they are decently clothed, well fed, and not overworked. I questioned many of them respecting their condition, all of whom assured me that they had nothing to complain of, except their being kept in bondage. I did not witness a single act of cruelty to any one

during my whole journey. One old man told me that when he was a boy, great cruelties were frequently inflicted, but that of late years, he had heard of scarcely a single instance. I speak of the parts that came under my own observation, for I was assured that in Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, shameful is the treatment. In Virginia, there is not only a milder treatment than formerly was the case, but the severity of the laws has been much mitigated. It was enacted in 1669, that if a master punished a slave who resisted his authority, to such an extremity as to cause death, it should not be accounted a felony. In 1672, it was declared lawful for any person in pursuit of a runaway slave, to kill him in case of resistance, without being questioned for the act. In 1705, two justices might by proclamation, outlaw runaways who might then be killed by any one in any manner, without being impeached for so doing. In 1723, a person indicted for the murder of a slave, was not liable to any punishment, if the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter. And in the same year, a slave going abroad by night, if notoriously guilty of the offence, might be punished by dismembering, or in any other manner not touching life. Whoever will take the trouble to compare these horrible laws with those now in force, will see the great

amendment that has taken place. We may therefore reasonably hope that the remaining unjust laws will be repealed one after the other.

But neither the repeal of these laws, nor the amelioration of the slaves, will be adequate to the establishment of happiness and security without the total abolition of slavery itself. To that object the efforts of every American patriot should be directed. Already symptoms of rebellion have shown themselves in South Carolina. And though they were soon extinguished, it does not follow that in all future cases, a similar result may take place. Something also should be considered of the spirit of the times. Can the Americans rejoice at the successful struggle made by the Greeks to free themselves from Turkish thraldom, and suppose that the rest of mankind would contemplate a similar struggle of their slaves with indifference? If they do suppose so, they know little of the feelings of Europeans. Whether tyranny be practised at Constantinople or at Washington, at Algiers or at New Orleans, mankind will manifest their abhorrence at it, and sympathize with its victims. And when the yoke is snapped asunder, and the slave walks erect in freedom, joy and exultation will be felt by millions.

The longer slavery is continued, the more difficult it becomes to remove it. Certainly the dangers to posterity are great, for by some means or other it will cease. To suppose that slavery will endure for ever in an enlightened land, is as absurd as to imagine that mankind will relapse into primitive barbarism. In the language of Campbell, a poet who is admired on each side of the Atlantic, we may truly exclaim,

> "Yes, thy proud lords, *America*, shall see
> That man hath yet a soul, and dare be free.
> A little while along thy saddening plains,
> The starless night of desolation reigns.
> Truth shall restore the light by nature given,
> And like Prométheus bring the fire of heaven.
> Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurled,
> Her name, her nature, blotted from the world."

The horrors attendant on a general convulsion may be avoided by timely expedients. It is clear that slavery may be safely abolished if done gradually. The energies of the country can never be fully shown so long as it remains. Justice, policy and patriotism call loudly upon the Americans to purge their country of this deadly sin. May the call not be in vain! May the generous spirit of Washington and Franklin animate some qualified person to commence the work. Let him never relax in his labour till he has completely succeeded. Let every real friend

to liberty aid him, and perhaps the wishes of the most sanguine may then be realized. Finally, I say to the Americans in the words of another poet;

> "Bring
> From forth your camp the accursed thing,
> Consign it to remorseless fire,
> Watch till the latest spark expire,
> Then cast the ashes on the wind,
> Nor leave one atom wreck behind."

But I really fear from the present feeling on the subject, that nothing effectual will be attempted. It appears likely that slavery and its concomitant evils will be continued, till in some agitated time, the flame long pent will burst out like a volcano, and spread death and destruction around.

CHAPTER XX.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

CONGRESS has enacted that the African slave trade shall be considered piracy as far as American citizens are concerned in it. It is to be hoped that the example set by the Americans in this particular, will be followed by the European governments, for surely piracy itself cannot be more wicked or barbarous. The only two governments which have hitherto manifested a sincere desire to prevent a continuance of that diabolical traffic are the English and American, both of which have used strong endeavours; and, as we see, the Americans have taken one step further than the English, by declaring the trade to be piracy. This does them credit. But while they have been laudably endeavouring to put an end to the African slave trade, what have they done to check the American slave trade? To understand what I mean by this, I must mention that thousands and tens of thousands of slaves are purchased in Maryland and Virginia for sale in Georgia, Louisiana and other States. Agents are stationed at Norfolk, Richmond,

Baltimore, and other places, to attend to the purchase and shipment of these unfortunate creatures. Now though it must not be supposed that this trade is attended with all the horrors of the African slave trade, it is yet sufficiently cruel to demand the interference of the government. So long as it continues, all hopes of abolishing slavery are vain, and it increases the evils of it at least threefold. As Cowper says,

> "Fleecy locks and black complexion
> Cannot forfeit nature's claim:
> Skins may differ, but affection
> Dwells in white and black the same."

But in this trade, husbands are torn from their wives, (for marriage is sometimes strictly kept by the slaves,) brothers from their sisters, children from their parents. It is true that humane persons will not forcibly separate children from their parents at a very early age, nor sell a man and his wife without stipulating that they shall be employed on the same estate. But in the latter case, how can they expect that the conditions of the bargain will be observed in cases where it happens not to be convenient, except the other parties are as humane as themselves? Instances have occurred, though for the honour of the national character I trust very seldom, of the owners of slaves separating relations to gratify spleen,

and selling them to different persons from sheer malignancy. Ought a trade like this to be tolerated? The African slave trade was condemned in Congress as iniquitous. Its outrages on humanity were forcibly depicted. It was described as fit only for demons. And is the American slave trade fit for men? Oh! let the groans and tears of its miserable victims answer the question. If the crime of purchasing slaves in Africa for the purpose of transporting them across the Atlantic, is to be branded as piracy, and punished with death, what will mankind think of a government which sanctions the sale of slaves to a distance of two thousand miles from their dearest connexions? If it be unconstitutional for the Federal government to legislate on this matter, it is not for the State governments within their own limits. Not only should slave-owners be prohibited from selling their slaves out of the State, but out of the county to which they belong. The anomaly of condemning the African slave trade as piracy, and permitting the continuance of the American slave trade, without subjecting those concerned in it to either pains or penalties, cannot fail to strike the admirers and friends of America as a circumstance throwing suspicion over the motive which induced her to take the lead of Europe in affixing a new name to the former.

I believe that so long as slavery continues, some sale of slaves must necessarily be allowed. But it might with great propriety be confined within very narrow limits. By restrictive enactments, nearly all the evils and horrors of this trade may be removed. The world looks to America to take the first, or at any rate the second station in the career of improvement. Here then is a subject deserving of her serious attention. May the hopes of mankind respecting her not be blasted, by a perseverance in a trade so repugnant to our best feelings, so demoralising in its tendency, so inimical to the national welfare.

There is one point of view to which I have not yet directed the attention of the reader. One part of the business of the agents of this traffic, is to search for and obtain handsome mulatto girls, to send them to New Orleans for the purpose of prostitution. What is the consequence? Why, by the unanimous accounts of all who have visited that city, it is the most profligate and licentious of any one in the United States. I have been informed that chastity is as rare a virtue there, as honesty within the walls of Newgate.

But of all the evils of this traffic, I cannot but

think that next to its cruelty, the most lamentable is its never-ceasing tendency to prevent the amelioration of the slaves so as to fit them for freedom. Many persons in Maryland and Virginia carry on the trade of rearing them for the southern and western markets, just as other persons rear cattle. Those two States have long ceased to import slaves, on which account it is, that the treatment of them is so mild as to leave no suspicion of danger of a revival of the severity formerly practised. But in Georgia and the other importing States far different is their lot. I speak not it is true from my own observation, not having been in those States, but the information I received was from witnesses entitled to credence. A very intelligent and amiable merchant in Baltimore related to me circumstances that had fallen under his immediate notice, too horrible and disgusting to commit to paper. A Massachusetts sailor whom I had every reason to regard as a worthy fellow, gave me a similar recital. And I was confirmed in my belief of their accounts by the tone of some persons from Louisiana with whom I chanced to fall into company, when they were speaking of the slave population, which they seemed to consider hardly human. Now if the States which import slaves were prohibited from so doing, a kinder treat-

ment would speedily be adopted; for the planters finding that no slaves could be obtained but those born within the territory, would be necessarily driven to use the women with humanity, and the men without cruelty.

In whatever light this subject is viewed, it will be seen that it is pregnant with evils. As I before observed, if the slave trade be suffered to continue, all hopes of the abolition of slavery are vain. But as there no indications that I can perceive, of a determination to accomplish the latter, I entertain hopes almost as slender of seeing the slave-exporting States putting fetters on the trade. And as to the slave-importing States, the idea that they will consent to give it up has not entered my head. Yet it deserves the serious consideration of those enlightened Americans who love their country, and feel for its honour, whether the continuance of this traffic is not as disreputable as the importation of negroes from Africa; and whether their country will not sink in the estimation of the civilized world, by allowing the one to be practised with impunity, while the other is branded as piracy.

But if the slave States will not give up this infamous and diabolical trade, they are at least

bound to put it under very strict regulations. Mahomet ordained, that in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from the children. Surely then, if the founder of Islamism yielded to the feelings of humanity in such a case, the followers of the merciful and tender-hearted Jesus must see the propriety of doing likewise.

> " For ah ! what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
> For merchants rich in cargoes of despair,
> Who drive a loathsome traffic, gage and span,
> And buy the muscles and the bones of man ?"

Certainly if the trade be not speedily put under very strict regulations, mankind will loudly exclaim to America,

> " Oh ! shame to thee land of the *slave*,"

and it is to be hoped that the time has not yet arrived when the governments of Maryland and Virginia may be regardless of the opinions of the civilized world.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FREE BLACKS.

Under this denomination I include mulattoes, and all others of negro descent who are not under the curse of slavery. Those persons in England who have formed a high opinion of America without being acquainted with the real state of the opinions and sentiments of the inhabitants, will be surprised to learn that throughout the country there prevails a prejudice against the coloured people, as strong as that in Germany and Denmark against the Jews. It extends from the highest to the lowest, like a gangrene corrupting the whole. That this prejudice is the strongest in the slave States will be readily conceived; for slavery and a black skin being united, the whites have learned to look upon one with the same contempt as the other. But that in the northern and midland States where slavery has ceased, the prejudice should be so strong as it is, may excite both wonder and regret. If a white person were to walk arm in arm with a black, in Broadway or any other of the leading streets in New York, he would pro-

bably be hooted and pelted by the populace. I was once conversing in one of the streets of Paris with a New York citizen, when two genteelly dressed persons, the one a white the other a black walked by us in the way I have mentioned. My acquaintance instantly calling my attention to them, expressed his astonishment and abhorrence at a white man's so degrading himself. His surprise then may be easily guessed, when I informed him that there was not the slightest degradation in it in the estimation of Europeans. Soon after, I fell into company with another gentleman from New York, to whom I mentioned this circumstance, when he told me, that as he was travelling in France by the public stage, a black woman was one of the passengers; but that rather than sit at the same table with her as the other passengers did, he chose to go without his dinner. A gentleman at Philadelphia told me that he had lost his credit for veracity, by mentioning to a company of his fellow citizens, that he had seen a black man in London sitting on a sofa with some young white ladies, and conversing familiarly with them. And another person told me, that as he was walking in Edinburgh with some American women, they were quite shocked at the sight of a mulatto gentleman with two white ladies walking with

him; one on each arm. The Americans hardly knew how to repress their indignant feelings. I will now mention an instance to show the hardship which is sometimes felt by the blacks, in consequence of this ridiculous prejudice. A black woman applied for passage by the ship which conveyed me to New York, but the captain objecting, she offered to take her meals at a separate table. This concession however was unavailing, for he refused to take her on any terms. On his mentioning this circumstance during the voyage, he was much applauded by the American passengers, particularly by the females, who so far from sympathizing with one of their own sex under such a difficulty, rejoiced heartily at the captain's decision, and said that they would sound his praises in New York for it.

But the most remarkable peculiarity in this prejudice is, that it is not the colour of the skin which determines where it shall cease. I will relate a few circumstances in exemplification. The following I received from a Virginia planter. A number of persons were assembled at a village in Virginia to see a horse race, and with the usual hospitality of the country a resident of the place invited several strangers to his house, where he provided them with beds for the night,

but there being more visiters than beds, two young men agreed to share one together. It so happened that about a fortnight after, a discovery was made that one of these young men was of African descent, which from the lightness of his complexion, none of them had suspected. This was a terrible dilemma! His bedfellow had to bear the rallyings of his acquaintances and was exceedingly mortified at the circumstance; and the master of the house came in for his share of ridicule for having entertained such a person at his house. Another case similar to this occurred in the Savannah Fencibles. A man who had been two years in that company was accidentally found to have had a black ancestor. This was enough. His comrades would no longer associate with him, and he was discharged. Thus it is not necessary for a man to have the mark of his ancestry in the colour of his skin to make him an outcast, and this too in a land which boasts of being the most enlightened in the world, and values itself on having broken through the prejudices which have so long enslaved Europe! No property, no virtue, no learning, no talent will suffice to remove from the descendant of a negro, the odium attached to him from his birth. Of the truth of this, I learnt a curious instance in the daughters of a Scotch-

man resident in Virginia. He had, in spite of the sentiments of the Virginians, married a mulatto woman, and so little different was the complexion of his children from that of the whites, that they would have passed among strangers as being of pure European origin. But notwithstanding this, and though he gave them a liberal education and left them large property, no white family would associate with them. If this be a proof of the enlightened state of the Americans, it is none of their humanity. But of all the ways in which the prejudice against the blacks and their children to the third and fourth generation shows itself, no one that I know of, is more ridiculous than that in barbers' shops. A barber in New York, himself a coloured man, told me, that he dare not shave one of his own race, for fear of losing the custom of the whites! I put the question to him in consequence of recollecting what Fearon has related on this point.

After reading these statements, many will probably be ready to enquire if religious persons as well as others manifest such intolerance. Surely, it will be said, they at least must know better than to treat the blacks as if they were of an inferior species. Ah! that was what I thought. I concluded that those who believe according to

the Bible, that God made of one blood all the families that dwell in all the earth, would look upon all mankind as brethren, and would be willing to meet those amongst the blacks who move in the same rank in society as themselves, if not on equal footing, at least with some familiarity. But no; the professors of religion of every sect, except perhaps a few amongst the Catholics and Methodists, are just as inflexible here as the votaries of fashion and the disbelievers in revelation. Incredible as it may appear, I have several times heard it gravely maintained that the blacks are the reprobate, and of course that the whites are the elect! Those who can believe that God has condemned a certain portion of his creatures to his eternal wrath without regard to their virtue or vice, may, for aught I know, act rationally in fixing on the negro race as the objects of his wrath; but those who believe that God is a just being, and that his tender mercies are over all his works, will consider such an assumption as profane and impious. They will say with Pope,

> "Let not this weak, unknowing hand
> Presume thy bolts to throw,
> And deal damnation round the land
> On each I judge thy foe."

I believe that the spirit of that stanza is not

sufficiently felt in America, especially amongst the disciples of the Genevan doctor.

I have said I suppose quite enough, to show the disposition of the white Americans to their black brethren, whom they always speak of as Africans, though just as much of Americans as themselves. But as it is probable that this book may fall into the hands of some of my countrymen who may have occasion to sojourn in the United States, I wish to apprize them of the danger they may fall into by saying a word in favour of the blacks. Just as I was leaving my quarters at a boarding-house in Philadelphia to proceed to the west, my landlady told me that she thought it needful to give me a caution as to my language. When I asked her to explain herself, she said that the other boarders had formed an opinion that I had been a frequenter of low company. "How can that be?" I enquired. "Why," said she, "you told them that you had once dined in company with a black, a circumstance which has given them a mean opinion of you. And therefore," added she, "I thought it would be right to give you a hint for your future government." Notwithstanding this hint, I once or twice fell into little difficulties. When I was at Norfolk, I was asked what

I thought of American beauty. Several females being in the company, I could not of course do otherwise than use a few complimentary expressions; but I happened to add that some of the prettiest girls I had seen were mulattoes. This created such a sensation, that I was obliged to let them know, that Englishmen had not that contempt for the coloured people which they had. But I would not retract my assertion. Some of the mulattoes whose features are correspondent to the European, are eminently beautiful. I was told at Burlington in New Jersey, that a coloured girl lived in that town a few years ago, who bore the character of being the handsomest in the place. At the same time it must be admitted that their countenances in general are far from being the most agreeable.

Hitherto I have been endeavouring to show how the prejudice against the blacks operates in private life. Let me now advert to its influence in political matters. In one respect, an attention to this part of the subject is of the most importance; for if the blacks have full justice rendered to them in all public things, the refusal of the whites to associate with them in private, will perhaps be no cause for complaint. It may be excused on the ground of imperfect

civilization. The Americans will probably think that such an excuse is worse than the charge; and yet I know not how they can dispute its correctness, when the state of other countries is considered, where a particular class is severed from the rest of the community and treated with obloquy. In China the tanhoos, and in Hindostan the sooders, are nearly on a par with the blacks in America. It is universally admitted that nothing but an improved degree of civilization can remove the unnatural prejudice which prevails against those two classes; and what else can remove the same feeling in America? Some may say that religion will. I know that many consider the Christian religion omnipotent in removing evil, and I shall not dispute its power to this end; yet it is obvious that its progress in carrying conviction to a whole nation is so slow, that reason and philosophy are auxiliaries too valuable to be slighted. They are handmaids to civilization; and if they gain such an ascendancy as to remove the present prejudice, religion will be effective in preventing its revival. The only American I met with, who had entirely got rid of his prejudices against the blacks, was a moral philosopher who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by any religious considerations in the case. He told me that a three

'years' residence in Europe had taught him to view many things in a new light; and on his return to his native land he was particularly struck with the condition of the coloured people. By reflection, and from a desire to act conformably to the deductions of right reason, he succeeded in mastering his dislike to them, and in bringing himself to behave to them precisely as to others. He lamented the existence of the general prejudice, which he fairly avowed to be disgraceful to the national character. This gentleman was one of the few Americans whose patriotism did not lead him to adopt extravagant terms in speaking of his country, fervent as that patriotism was. He was very desirous that I should form a correct estimate of the virtues and good qualities of his fellow citizens; but he considered that the contempt manifested to the blacks was indefensible. Objectionable however as that contempt is, I confess that I think it is more excusable than the treatment of them in political matters.

In Virginia, and I believe in all the slave States, the evidence of a free black, even when free born, is not received in the courts against a white man. What sort of freedom is this? And what is to be said for that law of Virginia which

imposes a tax on a black man who is nominally free, merely because he is black? Or for that law of another state which prohibits such a one from becoming a freeholder? Or for that in the town of Norfolk which enacts that after eight o'clock in the evening in winter, or nine o'clock in summer, no free black shall be seen in the streets without being subject to a flogging? A bell is rung at the appointed hour, like the Conqueror's curfew, and wo to the hapless wretch who chances not to hear it! I shall not however dwell upon these matters since they take place in the slave States, where as the slave holders are the legislators, we cannot be surprised at them. When persons have despotic authority over one class of their fellow-beings, they are not likely to be very scrupulous in extending it to another, for tyranny is ever encroaching; and the free blacks in those States are viewed with particular jealousy and hatred. I rather wish to call the reader's attention to the States where slavery is abolished, or in the course of abolition. In New York, the free blacks have no vote for members of Assembly or of Congress unless they are freeholders. This regulation is good in itself, but then it extends not to the whites, who may vote without being worth a stiver. As a reason for this distinction, the New Yorkers plead that the blacks

are excused from militia duty. Excused! a fine word in such a case. They are excused from militia duty in the same way that they are excused from voting, that is, they are told that they are unworthy to be on the same footing as their fellow citizens. The Quakers are excused from militia duty. Are they too excused from voting if they are not freeholders? But where prejudice is so strong, it is of little use to reason.

Independently of the distinctions created by law, there are others in practice. A coloured man is never summoned on a jury, in either Pennsylvania or New York, if my information be correct. The reason for this must be, that it would be derogatory to a white man to sit with a black in the same seat, and more especially to submit to consult with him respecting the verdict. And these proud whites are the people who make the country resound with their cries about liberty and equality! And who profess to pity the Europeans for being subject to the contumely of nobility and kingship! I will here relate a circumstance which took place in the city of New York a short time before I got there, and which was communicated to me by a tradesman with whom I was conversing on the condition of the coloured people. A poor fellow ap-

plied to the Mayor for a licence to act as a town carman, producing the requisite certificates of his fitness. The Mayor looked at the signatures, told the man they were satisfactory, but added, that he would grant no licence to any but a *white*; and thus the poor man was debarred from obtaining an honest livelihood by his labour, because he was not of the proper colour! He pressed his suit, as may be supposed, urged the injustice of the refusal, but it was all in vain. The Mayor excused himself, by expressing his fears that a compliance would endanger not only the man's safety but his own. He said that the populace would be likely to pelt him as he walked along the street, when it became known that he had licensed a black as carman. The Mayor was probably right in his apprehensions, as mob influence is so great, that as a citizen observed to me, they are under a sort of mob rule. As I was on board a steam-boat in Virginia, I mentioned these particulars to a New York citizen who was a fellow passenger. He said he could not believe that the man was refused at all, and still less that the Mayor should assign as a reason for his refusal any fears of the populace. Accordingly on my return to the city, I thought proper to make particular enquiry as to the truth of the story, when it was fully confirmed to me.

If any persons shall still dispute it, I would thank them to account satisfactorily for the fact, of there not being a single coloured man amongst the carmen.

Having thus proved that the blacks though nominally free citizens, have neither in law nor practice the rights of freemen, I might stop. But unfortunately I am compelled to go further. A law was recently passed in South Carolina, authorising the commitment to prison, of all free coloured people, in the capacities of steward, cook or mariner, in any ship entering any of the ports in that State. And if the master of the vessel did not claim them before sailing, they were to be sold for slaves! This law, be it observed, authorises the selling of free citizens of the United States into slavery, without a crime being alleged against them, and with no shadow of a crime other than that of a dark skin. If such a law had been passed in England or France, what a clamour would the Americans have made on the arbitrary policy of the European courts! But because the victims of this unjust law were the descendants of Africans, and the law of American origin, but little notice was taken of it. Certainly no general indignation was manifested. Had this law applied to white persons

instead of black, would the New Englanders, the New Yorkers and the Pennsylvanians have been, then silent? No, they would have strained every nerve rather than suffer it to be carried into execution. What then must the world think of their professed devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, when they are not to be roused at the oppression of their own free citizens who are of a different colour to themselves? It is true, that this law must be repealed, because it is unconstitutional; but the blacks will be indebted for its repeal to the self interest of the masters of vessels, and not to the spirit of liberty in the people. When I have spoken to one or other white citizen on this subject, I have received an answer like this; "Ah! it is wrong. I wish we could send them all to their own country." By their own country, Africa is meant, just as if the blacks had not the same right to call America their country as the whites. When a man is born in a country where his father and grandfather have lived before him, it is hard indeed that he should be regarded as an alien. Yet certainly the whites constantly speak of the blacks as if they were no part of the social compact. And as if it were not enough to make a distinction, while living, the very burial grounds must bear witness to the circumstance. A line of demarcation is drawn

between the space allotted for each. Whether they think that the elect and the reprobate ought not to have one common grave, I did not enquire.

The Americans think that they can find an easy justification for the exclusion of the free blacks from their political rights, in the example of England respecting the Catholics. But they should bear in mind, that one bad example should never be pleaded in palliation of another. I well know that the exclusion of the Catholics from power in England is as unjust and impolitic as that of the blacks in America. I lament that such intolerance should prevail, and I am willing to do what little I can towards its removal in both countries. But, let it be considered, that the opponents of the Catholics are under an opinion, that an admission of them to power would lead to the overthrow of the established Church, and that persecution would ensue to the Protestants. It is no part of my present business to examine the justice of such fears; but let me ask the Americans if they have any fear, that the establishment of the blacks on an equality of rights, would endanger the stability of their republican institutions. It is evident that while one country wants to maintain Protestant ascendancy, the other is equally strenuous for white as-

cendancy, and that both act at variance with true liberty; the difference between them being, that the people of England have prejudice and fears, the people of America prejudice only.

I have indeed heard two reasons assigned for not admitting the blacks to equal privileges with the whites, which it is proper to attend to. One is, that as the blacks and whites will never amalgamate, the attempt to bring about equality must be inimical to the peace and harmony of society. The other reason is directly the reverse, namely, that the establishment of equality must inevitably effect a complete amalgamation of the two races, and thus deteriorate the species. With respect to the first, there can be little doubt that at no very distant day, marriages of one with the other will frequently take place, whether the present restrictions continue or not. The records of history lead to this conclusion. A feeling of detestation between one people and another, residents in the same country, but different in language, physiognomy or some other particular has existed in various parts of the world, but it has generally been ultimately removed from some cause or other, and a happy union has been effected. It required three centuries to reconcile the Saxons and Normans in England, and about

ten to establish a friendly and cordial attachment between the Highlanders and Lowlanders in Scotland. The Romans and Goths were long irreconcileably opposed, yet they at last lost their dislike to each other. On the other hand, it may be said that four centuries have not effected a union between the Greeks and Turks. But it must be remembered that the great obstacle to a union has been the difference of their religions, an obstacle which in the cited cases was scarcely felt. It is no doubt the religion of the Jews which keeps them a distinct people in every country where they are scattered, and keeps alive the ancient antipathy to them. In the time of the first Pharaoh, it was an abomination to the Egyptians to eat at the same table with the Hebrews, and throughout the world they are the objects of contumely to the present day. I believe that the only country where no political line is drawn between them and the rest of the population is the United States, where their numbers are very small. In England several disgraceful laws exist on the Statute book which sometimes operate to their disadvantage; but as to any personal dislike to them, it is not felt, or at least not manifested, by any but the vulgar. If the Americans have so far laudably differed from the rest of the world, as to lay aside all prejudice in their case and grant

them those rights which are by nature the lot of all, may we not reasonably hope that their Christian brethren of a differently coloured skin will experience similar indulgence? This brings me back to the question of a union between them and the whites. The union sooner or later will certainly take place, and much as the whites at present may dislike the idea, it will contribute to their mutual advantage. The notion that the species will be deteriorated by the union is ridiculous. Physical reasons may be given for believing directly the reverse. The sooner the union takes place the better, for a caste in society is a dangerous evil; and as the removal of all political and civil distinctions may accelerate it, I think that on that ground alone, the whites ought to consent to the removal. But I am persuaded that this would be a reason with them for continuing the present distinctions. It would introduce liberty and equality, two things to which the Americans have a fixed hatred, though they ever profess an attachment to them.

Probably some American after reading the above, may say that I have omitted the most material consideration in the enquiry, namely, that the prejudice in America results from the difference in colour between the two races, whereas,

the prejudices in other countries have arisen from political and religious feelings; and he may add that the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, is a proof of the impossibility of a union between two people so opposite. But it should be remembered that the Spaniards and Moors, like the Turks and Greeks, were of religions, neither of which would compromise in faith, whereas the negroes in America are generally Christians; indeed with the exception of a few native Africans in the Slave states who retain their pagan superstitions, they may all be ranked as such. Consequently the two cases are not analogous. If there be no probability of marriages becoming general between the whites and the blacks, I should like to know why several of the States have laid a heavy penalty on such marriages. In Tennessee the penalty is five hundred dollars, and in Massachusetts the amount is I believe much the same. But what further proof need we to show that the two races will become one, than the prodigious number of mulattoes to be seen in every direction, particularly in Virginia? Unfortunately concubinage has superseded matrimony, but we must not thence infer that this will continue to be the case for ever. At present a most horrible state of things exists, occa-

sioned mainly by iniquitous laws; but we may hope that improvements will be gradually brought about. Of one thing at least we may be nearly certain, that unless a union cemented by marriage takes place between the two races, the consequences will be awful to posterity, in all those States which persist in supporting slavery. When a general insurrection of the slaves occurs, a massacre of the whites must be expected, if they should then be what they now are, determined to prevent marriages by all possible means.

At present the seduction of a coloured girl is regarded as a venial offence. A white man may be the father of illegitimate mulattoes without being considered a bad member of society, or even being shunned by virtuous women of the first rank. He may even rise to the highest station in the land, and be eulogised as a patriot; but if he were to marry the mother of his children, he would be considered to be degraded past remedy. If a penalty of five hundred dollars ought to be levied on the white man who marries a coloured woman; what should be the penalty for seducing her and refusing to marry? But it is the fact, that there is no penalty whatever in the latter case. Thus virtue is punished and vice

escapes. Such are the inconsistencies into which men run, when they legislate in conformity with prejudice, rather than right reason.

The opinion that the blacks are so constitutionally prone to idleness, that they will never become so industrious as the whites, deserves a little attention. I have shown in a preceding chapter, that natural organization has considerable influence on the human character, and I have adduced it to show the small probability of civilization being established amongst the Indians; and I shall not dispute the fact that the negroes are naturally averse to labour, for from the best and most unbiassed accounts I could obtain, it is indisputable. There is however so much difference between the condition of these two races, that I see no reason to believe that the negroes will never become so industrious as the whites. The negroes in America have never been in the state of hunters; they have always been labourers, for which their robust constitutions well qualify them. Their labour has it is true been generally extorted; but in the northern States, many of the free blacks have proved themselves capable of active exertion and voluntary labour, to a degree quite equal to the majority of their white neighbours. The colony of

Sierra Leone is a proof that they may be brought into industrious habits, for the directors of the Colonization Society have informed the American public, that that colony is in a state superior to any of those formed on their own continent in an equal time from their origin. They certainly will not maintain, that this is owing to the superiority in mental powers of the blacks of Sierra Leone over their own white ancestors. To what then is it to be attributed, but to their industry and desire of improvement? To be convinced of the impropriety of hastily condemning a whole race, it is only necessary to refer to Scotland. Probably no people in the world are more industrious and laborious than the Scotch Lowlanders; yet, little more than a century ago, Fletcher of Saltoun, that staunch though mistaken patriot, who was the strenuous advocate of free government, actually proposed to subject the great body of the people to slavery, under the impression that they could never be reclaimed from their slothful habits so long as they continued to be their own masters; and he thought the example of the Spartan Helots would be a sufficient justification of the proposed measure. If, then, his fears have been proved completely groundless by time; may we not indulge the hope, that time will be as effectual in the case of the American negroes?

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A FEW years ago, a society was formed for the purpose of promoting colonization. Judging by first impressions, the idea of America's sending her citizens to colonise other lands, when not half of her own soil is settled, would be pronounced absurd; but as this is a favourite project with a large portion of the people, it demands examination. The Phœnicians, the Greeks and other nations of antiquity had their colonies under similar circumstances. Perhaps therefore praise is due to the Americans for imitating them. The part where they proposed forming a settlement was neither in Patagonia, nor in the western parts of North America, though we might have supposed that those districts needed civilization as much as almost any in the world, and that colonies in either of them would be beneficial to the nation. The directors of the society, however, directed their attention to Africa. The western shores of that vast continent had been long desolated by the slave trade; and it was supposed that some spot might be selected north of the

equator suitable for a colony, which co-operating with the English colony of Sierra Leone, might not only make the native princes averse to sanction the continuance of that terrible scourge, but prepare them to accept the blessings of civilized life. Agents were accordingly dispatched to ascertain the practicability of the measure, and if satisfied that it was feasible, to purchase a tract of land on which the experiment might be made. They fulfilled their assigned task in a creditable manner, making choice of Cape Mesurado about five hundred miles from Sierra Leone. On their return home, they published their journals, written in the style common amongst missionaries, expatiating on the spiritual blessings bestowed on them in their exploratory journey, the honours that must redound to America for her disinterestedness, and anticipating the favour of Heaven on so righteous a work. The flame of religious zeal was soon kindled. The emigrants were to go forth in the strength of the Lord, to reclaim from idolatry and superstition the inhabitants of those regions, from which so many thousands had been torn to wear the bonds of slavery. The Mumbo-jumboes, the fetiches, were to fall like Dagon before the ark. The Cross of Christ was to be displayed, and the eyes of the sinful natives were to be directed towards it.

How glorious were the prospects! How rich the reward! Africa which had had so much reason to curse America, was henceforth to pronounce blessings on her; and the names of the colonists were to descend, like those of Cadmus and Peter the Great, with honour to posterity. What then must be the surprise of the reader to learn, that this project of colonizing Africa, originated in the hatred of the whites to their black fellow citizens! Yet so the fact stands.

Not content with heaping insult and cruelty on the blacks, denying them their civil rights, and treating them as outcasts, the whites formed the design, ridiculous as it was, of freeing the country of them altogether. If indeed they had proposed to transport the slaves to the land of their ancestors, and after establishing regulations to secure their permanent freedom and safety, had left them to improve the country by the introduction of the mechanical arts, the scheme, however impracticable, would have been laudable. But the agitators of it only proposed to transport the free blacks. Many of the slave holders in consequence, were warm advocates for the Colonization Society, the reason for which was, that the free blacks having generally more information than the slaves, were objects of jea-

lousy to the masters, who are aware that discontent and dissatisfaction when once excited, may lead to sedition. So long as the slaves are kept in ignorance, they consider themselves safe. Doubtless they are partly right in this opinion, for tyranny and knowledge seldom exist long together. But it appears extraordinary, that they should have no fears of a revolt at a future time, when the country will be thickly populated; and in the event of a revolt, the absence of the free blacks will signify comparatively little. And though an uneducated mass of people are unable to proceed with the union and energy of the better informed, yet they are more likely to fall into excesses of the most horrid kind. But the slave holders seem to have thought that if all the free blacks were once removed, they could effectually prevent the manumission of the slaves, and then rivet the chains so firmly, that the attempt to break them must be vain. As however they were desirous of having persons in the free States as their coadjutors, they very prudently took care to urge such arguments only as were likely to meet the views of all. The active managers of the society were religious zealots, with whom the greater part of the slave holders would not have desired to join, if they could have succeeded in their project by any other means. Indeed

I apprehend that the society would never have been formed, if the zealots had not instigated the slave holders to assist with their money and patronage.

When the society was once formed, it was found expedient to resort to other motives than those of benefiting Africa by the introduction of civilization and Christianity; for though those motives might be strong enough to engage some of the coloured people to become colonists, they were insufficient to induce the opulent to contribute in a pecuniary way. Accordingly, it was represented that if a colony were formed, the free blacks would be ready to transport themselves to it, in the hopes of attaining that respect which is denied to them at home; and that thus in a few years the whole of them would be removed from the soil of America. How futile this hope was, will be evident to any one who considers the enormous expense of transporting nearly a quarter of a million of men across the Atlantic, besides the certainty that the majority would prefer the land of their birth with all its disabilities, to the uncertain hope of obtaining an improved condition in Africa. It is certain that the Colonization Society could not remove them so fast as they increase. Yet such was the

infatuation on this subject, that many persons actually believed, that not only nearly all the free blacks would be removed, but that afterwards the slave holders would emancipate the slaves, and send them after their brethren; and that thus the whites would be able to enjoy the country, without the mortification of seeing men of African origin sharing it with them. This was currently believed by a very large portion of the whites, notwithstanding the fact that the whole coloured population was nearly two millions. People may believe the marvellous travels of Gulliver and Munchausen, there being some probable incidents in them to give the appearance of reality to the whole; but what are we to think of those who could persuade themselves that the Colonization Society could effect the riddance of two million men from the United States?

But not only was the scheme of the promoters of this society absurd, but it was full of contradictions. This was no more than was to be expected in a measure the result of prejudice. It was alledged that the free blacks were such a degraded, worthless, lazy set of people, that it was impossible for the country to attain to full prosperity, so long as so great a portion of the

community were of that class. It was said, and I heard it repeated over and over again, that they were so profligate and corrupt, that no good was ever to be expected from them. And yet these were the people who were to civilize Africa! If it be said that it was the intention of the managers to send out such only as were moral and religious, I should like to know if it could be beneficial to America, to lose the best characters amongst the coloured people, and retain the worst. This enquiry is of great importance, as, however disinterested the managers may profess themselves, they cannot deny that with all their professions of a desire to benefit Africa, their main object was to benefit America. It was this aiming at one thing and professing another, which led them into so many contradictions as are apparent in their reports. Thus an inconsistency shows itself in the arguments to induce the northern and southern people to believe that the object of the society was one deserving the support of both classes. To gain the contributions of people of the free States, the managers represented, that the transportation of the free blacks would render the abolition of slavery a comparatively easy work; but to prevent the slave holders from taking alarm, they expressly declared that their funds should not be

appropriated to any other object than colonization. By thus trying to conciliate both parties, they have been as oscillatory as a pendulum, but the oscillation has kept the machine in motion. Thus when wishing to urge persons to become members of the society, from a consideration of the benefits to their country, to be expected from an emigration of the free blacks, they characterise them as I have just mentioned. But when taking the other side, of the good to Africa, they state that one object of the society is "to instruct the natives in the arts and the true religion, and exhibit before them the superior happiness of a humane, industrious and Christian people." Now if the black Americans are a humane, industrious and Christian people, why should the whites desire to remove them from the country? But the fact is, that the common character given of the coloured people is, that they are lazy, vicious and almost every way bad, and decidedly inferior to the whites in mental capacity.

In proof of their proneness to vice and crime, it is asserted, that the number of black criminals is far greater than that of white, in proportion to their respective numerical amount. If such be the fact, it is not to be wondered at, as those

put under a ban are generally worse than others. But it is unfair to make the comparison with the whole population, because nearly all the criminals in jails are of the class of poor; and very few coloured people belong to any other class. If these things be borne in mind, I believe that the bad character of the coloured people will not appear to so great disadvantage as it now does. At Richmond, where the blacks are equal or superior to the whites in number, I found on enquiry that there were twice as many white prisoners as black. In Philadelphia and Baltimore the result was different, being if I remember rightly (for I seem to have omitted to make a memorandum) in the former place, nearly on a level; in the latter, a preponderance though a small one of the blacks. However, admitting for argument's sake that the blacks are worse than the whites, I contend that their bad qualities arise not so much from inherent viciousness as from bad government and popular prejudice. Owing to bad government they want a proper stimulus: owing to popular prejudice they are debarred from the best opportunities for mental improvement.

This brings me to the question of their supposed inferiority in intellect. I have no doubt that

the mental capacities of nations vary as much as their bodily. There is perhaps as much difference in mind between the savages of Australia and the Greeks, as in stature between the Tartars and the Patagonians. Education taken in its widest sense, can certainly effect a prodigious change in the character of man; but as it is impossible to make a philosopher of an idiot, so it may be extremely difficult to raise those nations to mental energy, which have hitherto shown only timidity and weakness. Voltaire has recorded as his opinion, that the Chinese are so constituted as to be physically incapable of advancing so high in civilization as many other people. The great diversity in the human species, both as it respects mind and body, furnished him with an argument against the Mosaic history of the creation, and led him to insist that the Deity must have originally created several pairs, and placed them in different parts of the earth. Other authors of inferior celebrity have maintained the same. In opposition to them, Doctor Prichard in his ingenious dissertation on the causes of the diversity, argues with some plausibility, that there was but one original pair of human beings, and that they were black. Without being convinced by his reasoning of the truth of his positions, I must admit that he has demonstrated convincingly, that

most of the varieties in colour and formation may be traced to adequate causes. As a believer in revelation, I question not the truth of all mankind being of one blood, and therefore I cannot believe that it is absolutely impossible, though it may require several generations, to bring one nation on a level with another. Hence I have no fears that the negroes will ever prove themselves unfit for the higher mental pursuits. Indeed it is a question with me, if they are much, if any, below the whites in natural capacity. Several of them in Hayti have exhibited to the world powers of mind very extraordinary. Like the ore of some precious metal, they have appeared to want only the refiner's fire to prove their full value. Though America has not yet produced negroes equally eminent, I doubt not that when she places them in circumstances favourable to the development of their powers, she also will be able to boast of some of them as ornaments. At present, few of them, even in the northern States, attain more than the rudiments of learning, while in the southern States every obstacle is thrown in the way of their improvement. A young man opened a school for the free blacks at Fredericsburg in Virginia, but after continuing it awhile, he tried the experiment of a school for whites. The latter failed,

from the sole circumstance, as I was assured by another schoolmaster, of his having begun with the blacks. Such was the prejudice against him that his qualifications availed him nothing. While prejudice is thus strong, the assertion of the whites, that the blacks are below them in mental capacity, must necessarily be received dubiously. The master of what is called the African School in New York, but which is a Lancastrian school for coloured American children, told me that he could not allow that the negroes were deficient in intellect. He assured me, that if his scholars were found not to have made progress equal to others in similar schools for white children, the fault must lie with him. "I shall not", said he, "exempt myself from blame, on the plea of their mental incapacity". In fact, the school is one of the best managed I ever saw, and the advancement of the children quite delightful to witness: it does him great credit. Besides reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic, they are taught some of the higher branches of the latter, geography, and the drawing of maps. He showed me maps of different countries drawn by some of his scholars, which were finished with great neatness, and would be exhibited with pleasure by any school-master in the country. Shortly after my visit to this school,

I fell in company on Long Island with some young Virginians who were making a tour for pleasure and improvement. Finding that they had adopted the prevalent opinion of the mental inferiority of negroes, I recommended them to go to this school, and ascertain whether it was correct. But they all made excuses, and I believe not one of them went, the fact being, that whatever desire they might have for improvement, they had no wish to relinquish a favourite prejudice.

These remarks on the moral and mental condition of the free blacks, are by no means irrelevant to the subject of this chapter; for the advocates of the Colonization Society having represented that their present degradation is incapable of remedy, other than that of placing them in another country, I was desirous of proving the untenableness of the position. Indeed the pamphlets issued by the society contain a refutation of it. In one, the free blacks are spoken of as "an oppressed people"; and surely the managers of the society need not to be reminded, that oppression, as in the case of the Greeks under Turkish domination, or of the Russian and Polish boors under an aristocracy, invariably produces degradation. Let me then ask them if the

removal of the oppression, would not speedily be followed by an amelioration of their condition. Men have improved in all the countries of Europe, where tyranny has ceased, and is America alone to be an exception to such improvement? Besides, the managers in one of their reports give us the strongest reason for believing, that the negroes are susceptible of very great improvement. They say that the natives of Africa are "mild, docile and amiable". How happens it then, that Americans of African descent are so much the reverse? Let them answer that if they can, without admitting that injustice and contemptuous treatment have been the cause.

It has been said by Lord Byron that this is the age of cant, a designation very apposite. The American Colonization Society is a standing proof how operative cant is, even on a shrewd, intelligent people. The English have become proverbial for their gullibility, but the Americans seem to be quite as obnoxious to it. In what other way can we account for the popularity of this society? It must fail in the accomplishment of its professed object, that of removing the great body of free coloured people; it is calculated to retard the advancement of those who remain; and it may perhaps be instrumental to the

perpetuation of slavery. It may be said, that amongst the promoters of the society, are many who cannot be suspected of any sinister design, or of any wish to favour the slave holders in fixing the shackles of their slaves more firmly. Granted; but worthy men under prejudices often become the dupes of more artful characters, who lead them imperceptibly forward as the bell-wether leads the flock. That many worthy men have been duped respecting the tendency of this society I cannot doubt; for as I find in one report a belief expressed, that the removal of the free coloured people will amongst other *benefits*, make the slave more obedient to his master, I must be left to my suspicion that the designs of some of the supporters of the society, are neither disinterested nor patriotic. As to the civilization of Africa, on which they so enlarge, it is certain that that was altogether a piece of cant, put forward to give a plausibility and amiability to the scheme for promoting an emigration of the coloured people; for if it had not been for the hope of freeing the country of them, Africa might have waited a century, before civilization would have been introduced from America.

I attended the sixth anniversary of the society, which took place at Washington during the sit-

ting of Congress. The mover of the first resolution made a long, incoherent speech, abounding with high-flown metaphors and similes in the style of Hibernian eloquence, mixed with sentimentality on the condition of the blacks. He said that he himself was the holder of two hundred slaves; and that on retiring to his patrimonial estate, instead of seeing a thriving tenantry around him, he saw abjectness and misery. After detailing some cruelties, that had in his presence been inflicted on some slaves, and enlarging on the evils of slavery, he concluded by expressing his hope, that the society would do credit to the only country that ever was truly free! This delectable climax was quite enough for me; but the auditory appeared perfectly to acquiesce in it. No symptoms of disapprobation were observable; none were publicly urged. And yet it is curious that the Americans will suffer such jokes as this to be passed upon them. In the Report of the managers, America was mentioned as "the freest and happiest nation upon the earth"; on which I have to remark, that so long as she contains a million and a half of slaves, superlatives must appear ridiculous. Is there no other country with a smaller proportion than one sixth of slaves? And as to happiness, the society state in one of their reports, that

"the least observation shows, that free coloured persons are not, and cannot, be either useful or happy amongst us". They will scarcely, I presume, contend that the slaves are happy. If then about two millions of persons out of ten are unhappy, does it not require marvellous assurance to boast of their country as the happiest in the world? The Americans however, were never thought deficient in self praise.

The free remarks I have offered on this society, are without the slightest wish to disparage America. I should, if writing on some institutions in England, adopt just the same latitude, or probably a wider. The founders of the society of course made use of their reason when they projected it; but when reason is warped by prejudice, it falls into gross inconsistencies. It is often as difficult to bring right reason and prejudice into cordial union as water and oil: the latter will get uppermost. If the Colonization Society persist in supporting the idea, that the great body of free blacks will be persuaded to emigrate across the Atlantic, it will become in a few years the laughingstock of the country.

This society being, as I have shown, founded on an insecure basis, and the superstructure be-

ing neither ornamental nor useful, the whole edifice will soon either moulder silently away, or fall headlong into ruins. In the mean time, let the founders of it look around, and ascertain whether their time and money cannot be better employed, than in endeavouring to prop it up. In order to convince them that this may be the case, I will inform them that several societies have been recently formed in England, for the express purpose of effecting the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. May this example be followed in America. The supposition of the possibility of clearing the country of the coloured people, is too preposterous to be much longer entertained. In America they are: in America they must remain. Their numbers in time will be so formidable, that the continuance of oppression will be dangerous. Let the white inhabitants therefore, instead of contributing their money to colonize them, use their endeavours to abolish slavery with all its evils, and finally to raise the blacks to their proper station, that is, to a level with the whites. I well know that this will be too republican, for the whites to coincide with it at present. But let them remember, that if the present system of irritation and injustice be continued, America when it becomes populous, will be as Ireland has

often been, the scene of rapine, murder and every evil deed. Like causes will produce like effects. It will be found in time, that permanent tranquillity can only be ensured, by the diffusion of knowledge and the practice of justice. To those who say,

> " That never can true reconcilement grow,
> Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep;"

I reply, that it is for savages and not for civilized beings to continue implacable. Liberal opinions work their way slowly into society, but they generally ultimately prevail. As there are some amongst the members of the Colonization Society, who have favoured it under the idea, that the blacks would never experience the benefit of liberal opinions so long as they continued in America, I shall conclude this chapter by an attempt to show, that further reflection and observation may induce them to change their opinion.

No people in the world are more averse to slavery than the religious society of the Friends. They expel from their communion all those who hold their fellow men in bondage. And yet a century ago, Virginia and the West Indies abounded with Friends who were slave holders to

a great extent. So little evil did they then view in the practice, that they promoted it in their corporate capacity. One of their ministers resident at Flushing in Long Island, informed me that in the records of the meeting to which he belonged, there was a curious instance of it. A woman applied to the meeting for assistance in the shape of a small loan to enable her to purchase a negro. The request was complied with, and five pounds were advanced. Now if such an alteration has taken place in their views, that what a century ago was sanctioned by the body, must not now be tolerated in a single member, may we not suppose that the time is approaching, when they will regard it as anti-christian, to show a disregard to the civil rights of their coloured fellow citizens in their remaining disabilities? Or is it too much to hope that they will endeavour to introduce a complete and cordial union between them and the whites? If there be no symptoms of such a thing at present, let it not thence be inferred that it is hopeless, as short sighted observers probably saw no symptoms of the Reformation, of the French Revolution, or of any other considerable change in society. Without boasting of superior perspicacity, I may state, that I think I can perceive that the way is gradually opening, for a more

equitable treatment of the free blacks in the northern States, and that there is some little prospect of religion becoming auxiliary to the abolition of slavery in the southern; a prospect, indistinct and dim I confess, but which may possibly brighten and become clear. A sensible, pious woman, resident near Charlottesville in Virginia, told me that though Virginia was her native State, and the one she had always lived in, she should prefer having a home in one not disgraced by slavery. She said, that she could neither reconcile slavery, nor the contemptuous treatment of the free coloured people, with the precepts of the gospel; and that she endeavoured as far as she could, to diffuse more liberal opinions respecting them. I know not to what denomination of Christians she belonged, but she seemed to me to possess several Christian virtues. I may also refer to the example of the farmer near the Dismal Swamp, who so hospitably entertained me, as another proof that the subject of slavery claims the serious attention of a few religious persons who wish to see a lustration of the land. In the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, two measures have been recently proposed, which also tend to show, that the subject will ere long, be forced on the attention of those who profess religion. One was, to

exclude all slave holders from the ministry; the other, to deny communion to slave traders. Both these proposals were, as was to be supposed, negatived; but the very making of them is a good symptom. I anticipate some exertions amongst the Methodists also. And though my fears of a beneficial result exceed my hopes, yet, if the members of the Colonization Society will but co-operate, my views will be materially altered. The continuance of the society on its present footing, I regard as inimical to the welfare of the country. As however, I know that many members of the society are actuated by what they believe to be pure motives, I will mention a circumstance to show how mistaken men may be in the proper line of policy, and into what inconsistencies they may fall even when labouring in what they suppose to be the cause of philanthropy. I was present at a private meeting of several of the clergy at Norfolk, who were assembled for the purpose of considering the best means of aiding the Bible Society, the Colonization Society, and the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. With respect to the first, I concurred in their views, for though I can perceive several objectionable matters in the Bible Society, yet as its main object is favourable to the improvement of mankind, I readily

wave minor objections. As to the Colonization Society, for the reasons I have given I could not unite with them. One reason urged by them in its favour was, that it is unfavourable to the common welfare to have a separate body existing in the country; and as the blacks must continue a separate body, it would be to their advantage, as well as to the advantage of the whites, for them to be transported to a country where the inhabitants were like themselves. And yet while these clergymen were for promoting the emigration of the blacks, they were also for encouraging the immigration of the Jews; though they must have known that no people in the world are more careful to keep themselves distinct. I know of no particular harm to a community in the existence of distinct classes, provided they have equal rights. What is wanted therefore, is neither the transportation of the Jews from Europe to America, nor of the blacks from America to Africa. All that is wanted is that equality of rights, which both continents refuse to the objects of their respective prejudices. The application of another remedy is injurious, inasmuch as it must be very partial, and has a tendency to withdraw the attention from the radical one.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

When we consider the prodigious extent of the United States, and of the numerous British colonies in North America, the West Indies, Africa and Australia, we may infer that the English language will be spoken by more millions of people, than any other in the world. The Spanish, the French and the Russian languages will be spoken by many millions more than they now are; but it appears unlikely that they will be either so widely diffused, or used by so numerous a population as the English. Even the Chinese, though at present the predominant language, will probably in a few centuries yield the supremacy to the English. Under these circumstances, it is a subject of speculation whether it will not more and more branch into distinct dialects. At first sight we might suppose that this will be the case, but when we reflect on the communication subsisting between the various countries where it prevails, and bear in mind that the standard and popular authors of England, are read in all of them, we may be led to

draw a different conclusion. Slight differences must necessarily prevail; but perhaps these may increase its copiousness, without diminishing its beauty or destroying its unity.

The United States having been peopled from different parts of England and Ireland, the peculiarities of the various districts have in a great measure ceased. As far as pronunciation is concerned, the mass of people speak better English, than the mass of people in England. This I know will startle some, but its correctness will become manifest when I state, that in no part, except in those occupied by the descendants of the Dutch and German settlers, is any unintelligible jargon in vogue. We hear nothing so bad in America as the Suffolk whine, the Yorkshire clipping, or the Newcastle guttural. We never hear the letter H aspirated improperly, nor omitted to be aspirated where propriety requires it. The common pronunciation approximates to that of the well educated class of London and its vicinity. But it must not be supposed that there is a perfect uniformity of pronunciation throughout the country. There is a marked difference for instance, between Connecticut and Virginia; not so much however in the accentuation of words, nor in the length of the vowel sounds, as

in the inflection of the voice. In the former State, if my memory be correct, the rising inflection is prevalent, and in the latter, the falling inflection. Of the two however, probably Connecticut assimilates the most nearly to England, as persons in that State took me for one of themselves, and in Virginia, I was several times supposed to be a New Englander. A Virginian who had resided in his youth for several years in Connecticut, told me that I spoke so exactly like the people of that State, that he had supposed, before I told him what countryman I was, that I was a native of it. On the other hand, I was told by others in Virginia and Maryland, that they observed no difference between me and them. From these particulars it will easily be inferred, that much greater uniformity prevails in America than in England. The nearest approach to any of our provincial peculiarities is in the central part of New York, where I met with persons whom I fully believed to be natives of Devonshire, till on enquiry, I was told they were born in the part where they resided. I recollect only two or three instances, of words being pronounced differently to what is considered correct amongst polite speakers in England. The second syllable of *engine* is sounded long, whereas with us, it is I believe invariably short, or as

if there was no final vowel. The word *learned*, which when used adjectively, we pronounce in two syllables, they pronounce in one. We make *clerk* rhyme to bark, while they make it rhyme to jerk. There are most likely some others which either escaped my notice, or have slipped from my memory; but when I add, that their utterance is less rapid than ours, and their articulation perhaps rather more distinct, the reader will have a correct account of their pronunciation.

With respect to the right application of words, I cannot give so good an account. In New England the word *clever* is used for worthy, and *smart* for clever. As *smart* is sometimes used in that sense in England, and as there are examples for it in our authors, I shall not object. But I think, that as no standard English author either ancient or modern, uses *clever* in the sense they do, and as the Virginians attach the same meaning to it as we do, the New Englanders must acknowledge themselves in error. For another peculiarity which has subjected them to much bantering, namely, the use of *I guess*, for I suppose, or I think, I can offer for them this defence, that in one part of Lancashire, the same use occurs. Again, the word *elegant* is used in a sense signifying of good quality, as *elegant* beef, an *elegant*

log-house; a sense never adopted by a correct writer, but current in conversation in Ireland. In Maryland, a person who has a house to let, advertises it *to hire;* and by the *balance* of any thing he means the remainder: while instead of *I guess* he says *I reckon.* These particulars it might be as well to alter, though the phrase *I reckon* is common in many parts of England. Autumn is generally called *the fall,* an expression sometimes to be heard in the western parts of England amongst the vulgar. Shops are called *stores,* to which I have no objection, the word being expressive. Cocks are called *roosters,* though that word is not inserted, so far as my observation goes, in any dictionary. Woollen and linen drapery articles are denominated *dry goods,* and a draper is designated as the *keeper of a dry goods' store.* Few persons will think that these alterations are improvements. But one of the strangest misapplications of words is common in Maryland and Virginia, though I believe not in the midland and northern States: it is that of calling small stones or pebbles, *rocks.* Traders and shopkeepers are commonly styled *merchants.* Does this arise from that fondness for high sounding words for which the Americans, notwithstanding their republicanism, have been long marked? The word *grade* for rank or station,

is I believe common in all parts of America, though not sanctioned by good authorities; the same may be said of the verb *to progress*, and the adjective *lengthy*. Of vulgarisms I shall take no notice, further than to remark, that those English travellers who have reported pot-house dialogues where they abound, have shown a contemptible spirit, in wishing by such means to represent the Americans as incapable of speaking good English.

In the grammatical construction of sentences, but little difference between the two countries is observable. Perhaps however the educated part of society in America, are not quite so careful to observe the rules of syntax, as the same class in England; the reason for which I take to be, that not finding it necessary to use endeavours to free themselves from provincialisms in pronunciation, their attention is less called to the niceties of language, than is the case with most Englishmen. I must also remark, that some amongst them seem too fond of adopting those cant expressions, which from time to time become current with persons who affect the airs and behaviour of coachmen, stable-boys and the like; which expressions were condemned by Swift, as the most ruinous of all corruptions in language.

The Americans say, and say correctly, that they have as much right to set themselves up for authorities in the use of words as the English. Still, I cannot help thinking, that it would be better for them not to reject the authority of those standard English authors whose works are our common property. The preservation of our language in uniformity and purity, is the interest of both countries; and as the colonies naturally appeal to England for example in the use of words, America may find her advantage in yielding allegiance. On the other hand, an Englishman or a Scotchman desirous of learning to speak English in such a manner as not to be distinguished for provincial peculiarity, probably he could not do better than to reside for a few years in one of the principal cities in the United States; and if I were asked what city seems to me to have the best pronunciation, I should say that I think it is Baltimore. In Philadelphia and New York, I observed that words with an initial V, were pronounced by some, as if spelt with a W. This is the only one of our vulgar errors with which I can charge them; and as a counterpoise to this I may properly here add, that the Americans universally pronounce the letter H in words where it is preceded by W, as the Scotch and Irish do; whereas the unedu-

cated English almost universally pronounce such words as if no H occurred. The only exception to this that has come under my notice, is in that part of Northumberland contiguous to Scotland. Persons of education however, are careful to make the proper distinction between *when* and *wen*, *whale* and *wale*.

These remarks may appear trifling to some; but those who know how much pains were taken by the Roman rhetoricians to pronounce their language correctly, will not think them unimportant. And those who are fond of observing the mutations and diversities of our language, will be pleased at gaining information of its present state in America.

This is a suitable place for me to mention, that the German spoken in Pennsylvania and the neighbouring parts of New York and Virginia, is very corrupt, being a compound of German, English and I know not what besides. Some idea may be formed of the corruption it has undergone, from a remark made by one with whom I was conversing, which was, that I spoke better German than he did. On smiling at his bantering, he said he was in earnest, for that natives of Germany all told the German Americans of

their bad language, and that mine corresponded with that of the native Germans much more than his. Various as are the dialects in Germany, and bad as some of them are, judging by the most generally approved standards, perhaps the worst is less faulty than that in Pennsylvania. It seems to be what the author of Hudibras calls a Babylonish dialect. I suspect that Adelung, with all his knowledge as a linguist, would be as puzzled with it, as the people in Sir John Mandeville's tale, when they heard the mingled voices which the thaw had freed from their icy fetters.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ORATORY.

In America, as in all countries where popular government is established, oratory is much studied, it being one of the most powerful means of obtaining the favour of the public. The complaint of Milton, that since the decay of Roman eloquence, no revival has taken place, has been long since refuted. France and England have produced orators, of reputation scarcely inferior to that of Demosthenes or Cicero; and America may justly be proud of her Patrick Henry, a man whose eloquence illuminated with a sudden glare like that of a meteor, so dazzling and terrific that inferior lights were obscured in the blaze. She likewise boasts of the names of Pinckney, Ames and a few others. But of her living orators, there is not, so far as my information reaches, a single name of transcendent merit. I heard some of the most distinguished lawyers in the United States, as well as several of the most active members of Congress; but it was not my lot to hear a single speech which was overpowering. Perhaps the

best plan I can adopt to give a correct idea of American oratory, will be to mention what I observed on several public occasions.

I was present at a meeting of the Debating Society of Boston, when a question was proposed for discussion on the policy of prohibiting usury. The first speaker was a short, jolly man, who seemed much more likely to please a dinner party by acting as their chairman, than to throw light on an abstract question. He began with diffidence, a good symptom; but after blundering through his speech, bewildering himself and his auditory, he concluded with no more confidence than he manifested at the commencement. The second speaker was quite as obscure, though with rather more assurance. The third, with some appearance of method in the handling of his subject, and with the air of a man who is to bear down all opposition, floundered in the mud of his own spreading, till he had tired himself and blinded those about him. The chairman was about to put the question, when a gentleman suggested that if the debate were adjourned, some further light would be thrown on it at another meeting. Some one might have told him, that there had been "no light, but rather darkness visible." The motion for adjournment was carried, and the

meeting dispersed, having as I thought, shown a most exemplary patience.

When I was at New York, a public meeting was held for the purpose of raising a subscription for the relief of the family of an officer who had lost his life in the suppression of piracy off Cuba. A friend of mine invited me to attend this meeting, telling me that he expected there would be a fine display of eloquence. Accordingly I went, but how great was my disappointment! There was not a single speech worth the trouble of the walk, notwithstanding the admirable opportunity for awakening the sympathetic feelings, and so inciting to generosity. Probably not a person present gave a dollar, except those who had made up their minds to contribute before they entered the room.

I have mentioned the anniversary of the Colonization Society. The principal orator on that occasion was animated, and so far agreeable; but then his speech was so bestrewed with dazzling metaphors and similes, so full of repetitions, so incoherent and contradictory, that the listening to it was as amusing and puzzling as the attempt to thread a labyrinth. The other speakers were not remarkable for any thing but

mediocrity, except one young man who seemed to have the art of captivating, if an excess of diffidence had not kept his talents in check.

I attended one or two other public meetings in which nothing particularly worth my noting occurred. One reason why public discussions in America are so little animated, is the omission of the auditory to testify their approval or dislike. There is no cheering, no hissing, no coughing. All passes off as quietly as the water of a brook with a smooth bottom. The Americans, I imagine, would consider it unpolite to make a general manifestation of their feelings; but a more probable cause of their quietness, is the Dutch-like apathy which they feel, or at least assume, in their general deportment.

Of their public lecturers I heard only three. The first was a young man who delivered a lecture on mnemonics at Ovid in New York. His voice was good, his tones were natural, and his illustrations were familiar; but he evidently was unacquainted with the principles of the science, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that in attempting to explain them, he bewildered himself, though the mechanical part he understood well, and made familiar to his hearers. He was not

generous enough to make any allusion to Von Feinagle, the author of his system, nor to the improvers of it in England; nor did he point out in what its superiority to Grey's Memoria Technica consisted.

The next lecture that I heard was on military tactics, delivered at Boston by a gentleman who is at the head of a military academy in Vermont. His voice was rather harsh, and his tones were monotonous; and what was a still worse fault, his manner of expressing himself was cold and repulsive, almost sepulchral. But then his mode of illustration was so clear, his language so simple and perspicuous, and his account of a battle so graphical, that he made one fancy that generalship was an art easily attained. In commenting on the battle of Waterloo, and the merits of the Duke of Wellington, he made several references to a book, which I knew from the title, to be the work of some Grub-street compiler; but perhaps it might answer his purpose as well as a standard authority. He took, I believe, several of his opinions from O'Meara's Voice from St. Helena, though he made no mention of it. Probably every individual present was gratified, if not delighted, with the lecture.

The last lecture that I heard was on chemistry. The lecturer bears the character of being an eminently scientific man, and has I believe a professorship in the college at Baltimore, where the lecture was delivered. It is a pity however, that his delivery is so bad, as to make one suppose that he felt no interest in the subject. He seemed with all his knowledge, to be destitute of almost every requisite for public speaking. For myself, I fell asleep after an ineffectual struggle to keep my attention fixed on him. On rousing up and looking around, I saw two or three others who seemed very quietly taking naps. Some were stretched at length on the benches. It was a great relief to me when he brought his lecture to a conclusion, and I resolved never to lose another hour in listening to him.

I cannot speak in very high terms of the pulpit eloquence of the Americans. My curiosity led me to hear a sermon from a very celebrated itinerant preacher, who wears his beard in affectation of primitive simplicity, hoping perhaps to raise an opinion of his having superior sanctity. I had heard so much said in praise of him, that my expectations were considerable. He has the merit of fluency and energy, but very little besides.

His discourse was composed of a number of incoherent paragraphs of reasoning and exhortation, remarkable however for their good sense and practical value. It might be compared to a kitchen garden abounding with nutriment but with little to please the fancy, and more likely to be valued by a poor man than a rich one. I also heard a popular preacher in New York of the Presbyterian Church, whose oratorical talents consisted in a strong, clear voice, and earnestness of manner, but who could be ranked only in the second or third rate class of orators. A sermon which I heard delivered at Philadelphia by the Bishop of the Eastern Diocese fell as cold on the mind (for it made no appeals to the heart) as a shower of snow on the ground. Some other preachers whom I heard, had the drawling tone of a town crier. The rest might be placed with the moderately good.

The eloquence of the American bar is decidedly different to that of the English bar, being more diffuse. The first court I attended, was the Supreme court of Massachusetts held at Boston, where though I entered several times, I heard nothing very striking. The charges of the Judge were deficient in explicitness, and his manner was undignified.

In one of the courts in New York, I heard some emphatic speaking. I may say the same of the Supreme Court of Virginia. But in both these courts, the counsellors appeared to me to be lavish of words, thus weakening instead of strengthening the impression first produced. I have seen a remark in some American publication, that it is customary in the United States, to judge of the excellence of a speech by its length. If such be the fact, the diffuseness of the lawyers is accounted for. But to whatever length it may be necessary to go in addressing a jury, I should think that in arguing a point before judges, it would be only proper policy to be as concise as circumstances admit. Yet in the Supreme Court of the United States, which was sitting at Washington when I was there, I observed that the counsellors in moving for new trials, adopted the same discursive style that they use to juries. One whom I heard there is a Bostonian of distinction in his profession. He has very conspicuously the eloquence of composition, his diction being chastely fervid, his thoughts brilliant, and his periods elegantly turned; yet his speeches produce little effect from the inanimate, heartless manner in which they are delivered. Seldom have I witnessed such a contrast of powerful language with powerless

oratory as in him. His action is neither graceful nor appropriate, his tones are monotonous, and his eye is seldom directed to the persons he addresses. If it were not therefore for the richness of his language and the strength of his arguments, his speeches would have the almost petrifying effect of the glance of the Gorgons. The eloquence of the Attorney General of the United States is of a different kind. That learned gentleman, who is I believe a Virginian, gives play to his imagination, till it bubbles and froths, and in its exuberance overflows and drowns what it should embellish. His altisonant periods have the effect of drawing the attention from the subject to the orator, whose attitudes lead to the supposition that he thinks too much of himself; but to do him justice, he has the soul of an orator who wishes to rule and subject the passions of others. He is dignified in deportment and has voice and countenance agreeable.

The eloquence of the legislative bodies in America, is not perhaps so open to objection as that of the bar. The orator who is addressing an assembly of a hundred men, feels himself, when he has sufficient confidence not to be daunted by their gaze, supported by their presence and necessitated to exert his energies. He feels a

sort of awe, which impels him to rush forward like the soldier in an engagement, lest by hesitation he should expose his weakness. This impetus assists his utterance; and instead of checking his imagination as might be supposed, or chilling his passions, or confounding his arguments, it has the effect quite opposite, of calling the faculties into full exertion, while at the same time it so regulates them as to prevent extravagance or trifling. Accordingly, first-rate orators succeed better in large assemblies than in small. The listening crowd is to them what drums and trumpets are to the war horse. Remove the exciting cause, and both one and the other become calm as the sea when the winds are hushed. It may be said, that these remarks are as applicable to forensic as to senatorial eloquence, the spectators in a court of justice having precisely the same effect on the orator, as the numbers in a legislative body. But it must be considered, that the lawyer who is addressing a jury, knows that he has nothing to do with the surrounding spectators on ordinary occasions; and therefore, except on questions of great public interest, when his reputation is at stake, and a large party is keenly waiting the issue of the verdict, we seldom hear impassioned, overwhelming speeches at the bar. He has to carry con-

viction to twelve; the legislator to a multitude, of whom many from party spirit are reluctant to yield. If there be any truth in these remarks, which have been made after considerable observation and reflection, the reason why the eloquence in the American legislature is less faulty than that at the bar, becomes apparent. I heard several speeches in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives, characterised by force, clearness and ingenuity; and though it was not my lot to hear one so overwhelming as to bear down and render hopeless all attempts at opposition, by making the listener believe that it was meritorious to surrender feeling and judgment to the enchanter; yet I heard enough to convince me, that in case of any impending danger, there would not be wanting those who could guide and sway public opinion. I believe indeed, that in the discussion of general questions, however abstract or difficult, the House of Representatives is at least equal to the House of Commons.

The most powerful speech I heard any where in the country, was in the State legislature of Pennsylvania. A motion had been made in the lower house to appropriate a sum of money for printing the laws, when a member rose in opposition to it. He was dressed so shabbily, and had

such a mass of uncombed hair on his head, that I should have guessed him to be an ostler or some such person, if I had met him in the street. But he poured forth with a volubility and energy that effectually aroused the sleepy, and rivetted the attention of the careless. His address had such an effect, that the opposite party was glad to compromise the matter out of doors.

Whether it be that the Americans are deficient in wit and humour, or that they only suppress the indulgence of them in public, I witnessed no displays of either, though many opportunities occurred where they might have been advantageously employed.

If I were asked to give in a few words my opinion of American oratory taken in the general, I should say, that it is rambling and diffuse, but simple and perspicuous; deficient in energy and pathos, but lively and argumentative; and better adapted to convince the gainsayer than to arouse the indifferent.

Having mentioned the deficiency in energy and pathos, I wish to add a few words on what appear to me to be the causes of it. The first then is I think the neglect of prosody. The ele-

mentary rules of that part of grammar, including those of versification, are probably taught in the schools; but I am almost certain, though not from any information I received, that the higher branches have, in a general way, no attention whatever paid to them. I infer this, not only from the prevalent monotony of public speakers, but from the manner of reading in the domestic circle. I did not hear a single reader who did full justice to the author whose work he was reading, except perhaps in those passages requiring no vocal inflection. There seems in fact to be a notion in America, that if the pauses are correctly made, and the emphases duly marked, the perfection of reading is attained; just as if the spirit of the author could be communicated to the hearer by cold correctness. The best reader that I heard was a young lady at New York, who read prose with propriety and elegance, but failed in verse; the failure in the latter being occasioned by her attending to the sense in disregard of the metre.

The next cause of the alleged deficiency, I suppose to be the slowness of utterance; a fault very general, but nearly as fatal to eloquence as over fulness of pronunciation, which is the fault of so many English orators. The orator whose

words follow each other like the ticking of a clock, must necessarily fail in keeping the attention properly fixed. I have constantly noticed, that those orators whose utterrance is rapid but distinct, are the most powerful.

The last cause to which I think it needful to refer, is to that apathy which is so great an ingredient in the national character. Without fervour, it is impossible for an orator to thrill and hold captive his hearers. By elegance of diction and a melodious voice he may delight and enchant; but he cannot gain that ascendancy which is the aim and object of the first-rate orator, without those,

"Thoughts that breathe and words that burn,"

which never flow spontaneously from one of cold feelings.

CHAPTER XXV.

LITERATURE.

The literature of England is that of America. Our popular and standard works are reprinted, and circulated from Maine to Georgia, from New Jersey to Illinois. At a solitary log-house standing in the midst of the native forest, and remote from town or village, I found books which may be seen on the toilette of London ladies. The poetry of Scott, Byron and Southey is as familiar to the Americans as to us, and the Waverley novels are devoured with equal avidity. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and several of our Magazines are regularly reprinted. Of native authors they have comparatively few, a circumstance by no means discreditable to them, as it is the almost necessary result of their situation. Yet they were highly nettled and indignant, when a question was tauntingly put some years ago in the Edinburgh Review, "Who reads an American book?" The fact was, that they were sensible that from the paucity of their authors, the question was one not to be so easily answered as such a one as this, Has America

ever produced a great man? If this question had been put, it would have excited only a smile. Hence they may perceive, that so long as they manifest anger at English prejudices and sarcasms, it will not unreasonably be concluded that they are not ill-founded. Would Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great have been offended, if they had been represented as cowards? Or would their own Washington have been offended, if he had been stigmatised as the enemy of his country? If then the taunting question of the Reviewers excited wrath in the Americans, we may be sure it was owing to their inability to answer it, or at least to their consciousness of its being a question naturally arising from the state of their literature.

Since that question was put, Washington Irving has redeemed the character of his country; though in my opinion, the want of native literature is no disgrace to them since they are amply supplied from abroad. When a country is furnished with an article, what signifies it whether it be of native growth or of foreign importation? Before however proceeding to offer any remarks on his writings or those of other authors of note, let me advert to the miscellaneous pamphlets constantly issuing from the press. I

was surprised on inspecting a number of these, to find that they were written so carelessly and slovenly, as to appear like the productions of a schoolboy unskilled in grammar. The Annual Report of one of the New York charity schools, was the most faulty composition I almost ever saw. Some violation of syntax was perceptible in nearly every sentence, certainly in every paragraph. It is likely that the framers of that Report had had only a commercial education, and had never bestowed much time in reading any books besides their bibles and ledgers; as such, the errors may be pardoned. But what defence can be offered for the numerous errors in the publications of the Philadelphian Society for promoting Agriculture? a society which enrols on its list of members several men of literary reputation. These errors might in many cases pass unobserved, if it were not for the occasional attempt at fine writing; for where that is conspicuous we begin to criticise. I was much amused at an attempt of this sort in one of the pamphlets issued by the Colonization Society, which as a specimen I here insert, assuring the reader that it is only one instance out of many. "Africa," says the writer, "has been the cradle of a race of men, having characteristics sufficiently bold to distinguish them from every other people.

Africa, which has been their cradle, is a store-house furnished with rich and various supplies to nurture them to manhood, and when the voice of nature shall pronounce their exit, will afford a sepulchre for the slumber of their ashes!" Till I read this, I had never let in the idea, that there was any country on the earth so filled with corpses, as to have no vacant space for a new grave. But, as the adage is, we live and learn. A still more amusing passage of a similar stamp, may be seen in a memoir of Fulton of steam-boat memory, read before a literary society in New York. The author, if I remember rightly, (for I have not the book by me) is anticipating the future glory of his country; and whenever an American gives the reins to his imagination on that subject he is like a wild animal, pursuing the chase so eagerly that he sees neither posts nor pitfalls.

The Americans often make a remark when speaking of their literature, which appears to me to be perfectly preposterous. It is, that Milton, Locke, Swift, and the whole host of authors anterior to the Independence are their countrymen. We might with as great propriety claim Franklin and Washington as our countrymen. They say that the separation from the mother country

was in government and laws, but not in literature; and that as they speak our language, they have a right to consider themselves as participators in the honour which those writers conferred on their native land. But surely this claim is one that no other people would have set up, for it confounds all the established notions attached to what we call our country. The population of America is a compound race from English, French, Dutch, German, Spanish and African stocks; and though the English language is by far the most general, yet there are districts where other languages are exclusively spoken. In the midland parts of Pennsylvania, German is spoken; in New York, Dutch; in Louisiana, French; and in Florida, Spanish. Are the persons who speak these different languages to claim our authors for their countrymen? Yet they are Americans as well as those who speak English. In short, it seems wonderful that the claim producing these remarks, should ever have been set up.

Though the number of native authors whose works are destined to rank as standard classics is small, there is no deficiency of pamphleteers and authors of the common sort, whose writings are calculated to serve a temporary purpose. Of

periodical literary journals, they have but one of conspicuous excellence. This is the North American Review, conducted on the plan of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and justly entitled to rank side by side with them; for though trumpery articles have occasionally appeared in it, its general character is highly respectable. Its chief defect is want of courage in attacking the faults or follies of the country. Like those preachers

> "Who never mention Hell to ears polite,"

the writers in it seem afraid of giving offence by plain speaking. They will

> "Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike."

No doubt this caution has been occasioned by the knowledge of the impatience of their countrymen at satire on themselves; but it has the effect of giving insipidity to the work. An infusion of the essence of Swift or Juvenal would make the mixture, like a dish seasoned with spices, excite the palate, and promote a thirst for knowledge. Several attempts at wit have been made in the North American; but like bladders blown by children with soap and water, they have been showy but empty. The writers have produced nothing in this way, equal to some of the half earnest, half jocular pieces in Blackwood's Magazine. On the other hand, they

have not fallen into the flippant petulance so observable in the early numbers of the Edinburgh Review, nor into the arrogant acerbity so often conspicuous in the Quarterly. I believe that no work of the kind can produce finer examples of eloquent composition, than the North American Review. Some of these remain on my mind still giving delight, as the music of a well tuned instrument continues to vibrate on the ear after the sound has ceased. If I had read them in the heyday of youth, when fancy was lively and feelings were keen, I should have been ready to dance for joy, and class myself with the fairies of the olden time revelling in the moonshine of imagination. Now that I am a little sobered, I find myself too much of earthly mould to realize such flights of fancy, yet when reading some of the papers of the North American, I can recal the days that are gone, and partially resign myself to the witchery which can no longer deceive me. This journal has for its editor, a man of eminent repute as a scholar; a circumstance which I mention, because he has set an example which it would be well for other journals to follow. In quoting from books in French and other foreign languages, a translation is given instead of the original. French and Latin are supposed to be so generally understood in England, as to

render a translation unnecessary; but I believe that at least half, and probably three quarters of the readers of our reviews, are unacquainted with either. The same I doubt not is the case in America. I think therefore that the editor of the North American Review, has acted with singular propriety in the plan he has adopted. If the original be inserted it should be in a note at the foot of a page, that being one of the few cases where a note is excusable. Another particular which I noticed in the Review, is the absence of French phrases. The author who made the practice fashionable of interlarding English books with French phrases was Lord Chesterfield; a man to whom we ought to pay little regard as a writer of language, whatever respect may be due to his opinion on points of behaviour. Since his time, the practice has been gaining ground, till at last, Lady Morgan has had the folly to introduce them so frequently, as to give her book the appearance of being written by a Frenchman, who understood English so imperfectly as to be obliged to resort to his native language. I myself while engaged in this work have been several times about to make use of a French phrase; but considering that our language is adequate to the expression of all our ideas, I have carefully abstained.

Of works describing the resources and natural advantages of the country, there are several of considerable value; but it would be foreign to my purpose to speak of them particularly. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia deserves however some notice from the celebrity of the author. Though in many respects inapplicable to the present condition of Virginia, it is a book which may be read with pleasure and advantage. His enthusiasm leads him to describe things with too much warmth, but that is I think an error on the right side. His prejudice against England I can less excuse, especially as he writes in some respects as a philosopher. His disbelief of the Mosaic account of the creation is plainly avowed; but however some may regret this, they will surely admit that openness and sincerity are preferable to the covert infidelity of Gibbon in his attempt to cause distrust of Christianity. If the work did not add much to Jefferson's literary reputation, it at least exhibited him as a man of enquiring mind and of reflection. Exclusive of the bigotry and prejudice conspicuous in it, the performance is creditable to him.

It is remarkable that no historian has yet arisen, to do full justice to the revolutionary history of America. There are compilations and

annals in abundance; but no history, where without the tediousness of military detail, we may find a succinct and spirited account of the different engagements, of the conflicts of the different political parties amongst the natives, and a philosophical estimate of the causes and consequences of the whole. Such a work is yet a desideratum. Marshall's Life of Washington is too cumbersome. Ramsay's History is incomplete. Two or three volumes have lately appeared, which are part of a work entitled, Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. The author's choice was hardly a judicious one. The names of most of those who signed the Declaration, will be as little familiar to posterity, as the names of the barons who extorted Magna Charta from the tyrant John. The attempt to place them on a pedestal in the temple of fame, will prove as unsuccessful as that of the suitors to bend the bow of Ulysses. The revolutionary history might doubtless be combined with the biography of a few public characters, so as to be made very interesting, as the mixture of domestic scenes with historical events gives us a picture of the times particularly pleasing. But then the characters chosen, should be such as are really eminent. Macdiarmid, in his Lives of British Statesmen, especially in that

of Sir Thomas More, has exhibited the best samples of this kind of writing that I am acquainted with. If Sanderson, the author of the work now under consideration, had taken him for a model, he might have produced a work honourable to himself and valuable to his country. But he has evidently been an imitator of Gibbon, a fatal mistake in a biographer. The lofty language and rotund periods of Gibbon, produce satiety to the mind like honey to the palate. Faulty however, and tiresome as his style is, it is pardoned for the plenitude of his information and the majesty of his theme; but nothing but great want of judgment and of taste, would have led any one to relate biography in a similar style. The Life of Franklin written by himself exceedingly interests us. We enter into his feelings of satisfaction on finding his business prosperous; we delight to witness the development of his faculties; we take a lively concern in the issue of his various schemes. But how different are our sensations in reading his Life by Sanderson! The simplicity which charmed us has fled, and we have instead pompous inanity. He will never be the Plutarch of his country. But if he be incompetent to biography, it is only from a misapplication of his talents; for it is plain from his historical introduction, written on the plan

adopted by Dr. Robertson in the first book of the History of America, that he is capable of producing a work of merit. Let him peruse the works of Dr. Gillies, or any other of Gibbon's imitators, and then turn to the pages of Hume or Voltaire, and he may soon become sensible of the cause of hi failure. An octavo volume was published at Boston during my stay in America, containing a personal narrative of several important events in the revolutionary war. A copy of it falling into the hands of the editor of the New-York Albion newspaper, I wrote at his request a short review of it for insertion in that journal. I have forgotten both the author's name and the title of the book; but I mention it for the purpose of stating, that though it contains some very interesting particulars, its literary merits are not such as to reflect honour on the country. It may be placed on a level with Carleton's Memoirs, or the narratives of some of our officers of the peninsular campaign. In my review of it, I bestowed as much praise as I could consistently with my sense of justice. The Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania may serve to amuse an idle hour, but the book seems little adapted to maintain a permanent standing in our libraries. Some of the particulars are too trifling for publication, and the

style is not sufficiently polished. Tudor, in his Life of Otis seems to have failed as egregiously as Sanderson, though from different causes. Judge Johnson, in his Life of Greene, has also failed. These works may be useful to the future historian, but who would have patience to go through them? Dr. Johnson has well observed that tediousness propagates itself. Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry is of a higher stamp; but in drawing his hero's character, he has overcharged the colouring so much, that the different features appear distorted. These works confirm the remark I before made, that the revolutionary history has not yet had full justice done it.

Of books, the result of foreign travel, the Americans have fewer than we might suppose, when we consider that such of their young men as travel for improvement, visit almost every country in Europe. Now and then, some one makes an exploratory journey into Africa or Asia. Yet how little have they contributed to cosmography! Even those works relative to their own continent, are generally so badly written, that few would read them besides those whose studies are directed to the Indian character and history. Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains is narrated in a slovenly manner. I took it up, but

found that it was a work which would not suit me. When afterwards I saw a review of it in the North American, I expected to find either an analysis of it, or a selection of the more striking parts with appropriate remarks; but I was disappointed. The article was meagre and unsatisfactory. If the editor will compare it with the correspondent one in the Quarterly Review, he will perceive the inferiority of his own. Hunter's Captivity among the Indians is an interesting work, though not very skilfully compiled. It is, I apprehend, the best account extant of the tribes amongst whom his lot was cast. This book is so evidently the workmanship of some other person than the professed author, that it should have been mentioned in the preface, and the third person used instead of the first. Mariner's account of the Tonga Islands was published in that manner by Dr. Martin, who set an example of narrative, illustrated by philosophical investigation, which it would have been well for the American editor to have followed.

Amongst their books of travels in Europe, two or three deserve notice. Of Griscom's Year in Europe, I am scarcely competent to give an opinion, having seen only a few sheets of it during its passage through the press, which the author

did me the honour to submit to my inspection and revisal. I saw enough however, to satisfy me of his candour and amiability. The style, though not so nicely polished as modern refinement requires, is flowing and animated. The principal fault of the work, is as it appeared to me, an unnecessary minuteness of detail, though that very minuteness is sometimes charming. Such minuteness respecting countries little known, would have been entitled to unqualified praise.

Silliman's Tour in England is written with considerable elegance, though with too much of German prolixity. He relates and describes things accurately, but whatever is offensive or disagreeable is cast so much in the shade, that England appears more like a terrestrial paradise, than a country where good and evil are blended; thus deception is produced, though undesignedly. Of an opposite character, is a work entitled, A Sketch of Old England by a New Englander. This book contains a collection of particulars illustrative of the misery and degradation of England, and of the tyranny and wickedness of her government. If the author's object had been to effect a reformation in the country, it would have been a commendable one, though the means he has used are evidently in-

adequate to the end; but he has told his readers that his object in this publication was to compel English writers to do justice to America! The work is compiled in such a snarling, moody manner, as to raise a smile at the author's galled feelings. When he regains his good humour, he will probably regret that he ever gave it publicity. Should he come in the spirit of kindness to tell us of our faults, and try to shame us out of them, we shall receive him as a valuable auxiliary. At present, his work is likely to be as little operative, as the darts of Belzebub on the shield of Faith! Walsh's Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States, is a work written in a similar spirit. It displays great industry; but there is far less talent shown in it, than a perusal of the author's pamphlet on the French government might lead one to expect to find in it. The little effect it produced in England is well known. Its tendency at home was very different to what I would charitably hope was Walsh's design; for instead of allaying the rancour of his countrymen against the land of their forefathers, it rather increased it. The great mistake into which both he and the preceding author fell, was in arguing on false premises. They assume, in consequence of the illiberal tone of some English writers, that the English

people at large were prejudiced against America; though a little enquiry from recent American tourists in England, might have removed this false notion. The book added nothing to Walsh's reputation, either as a literary character or as a calm philosopher, and remains a proof of the folly and impropriety of bringing a controversial spirit into controversy, except where the author's aim is victory at the sacrifice of truth.

Somerville's Letters from Paris should be read by those American democrats, who have entertained the extravagant opinion that Napoleon was the friend of liberty. He was their favourite, and almost their idol because he overturned several of the old governments of Europe; whereas, they should have suspended their admiration, till he had established a system of liberty. That he might have done so, will scarcely be disputed: that he knew how to do it, is evident from his conversations at St. Helena. Yet, as this work proves, he was a tyrant. He to be sure declared, that it was his intention to yield to the public desire at a future time; but who is to pay regard to the declarations of a man who has lost power, when his whole career when in power belies them? Somerville has weighed the virtues and vices of his government in an

apparently dispassionate manner, and has proclaimed that the latter preponderated. The style of this work is too elaborate; at least, it bears too much the symptoms of labour. The metaphors are sometimes strained. It has however a fulness and richness which may excuse minor faults. It is written in a philosophical spirit like Everett's Europe, which is a work of merit. The author may draw some hasty conclusions, but his reasonings deserve to be weighed by statesmen. His style is flowing and elegant.

I shall offer no remarks on the works of American novelists, not being addicted to novel reading; but it is proper for me to state, that one of them has given to the public, works which have been admired on both sides of the Atlantic, being considered nearly equal in excellence to those of the author of Waverley, who is his prototype. It should however be borne in mind, that he who traverses fairy land in the footsteps of another, is less deserving of praise, than he who strikes into an untrodden path. Perhaps it may be said with some truth, that the Americans generally, have been less adventurous than sequacious.

Various volumes of memoirs of missionaries

have been given to the public, one or two of which I inspected. They seemed to me to be compiled with little taste or judgment. Setting aside their literary defects, they may be esteemed as incentives to piety, just as some flowers are valued for their fragrance rather than their beauty.

A volume of essays under the title of the Old Bachelor, which was published with the laudable view of infusing a literary taste amongst the Virginians, and of inciting their youth to an emulation of the best models, is a book containing some very elegant passages. Few periodical essayists since the days of Addison, have proved themselves more capable of interesting the feelings and rousing the imagination than the author of the Old Bachelor.

The British Spy contains a very curious account of a blind preacher, written with much art and ingenuity, though unluckily terminated by bathos. The other parts of the volume are but moderate. Another book of a character somewhat similar, though certainly superior, entitled Letters from the South, is a good companion to the Spy, though the attempts at wit are too frequent. Much as these two have been admired

in America, I think they are little likely to be popular in England.

Griscom's Discourse on Character and Education is an eloquent composition. The diction, though rather too lofty in one or two paragraphs to please my taste, is not overstrained. The Discourse cannot fail to please those who take a proper interest in the spread of knowledge and virtue. In adverting to foreign countries, the author uses language becoming a sensible, liberal-minded man. His countrymen may profit by the example he has given them.

Taylor's Enquiry is a work which has been so highly commended, that it possesses, I conclude, extraordinary merit; but it is composed in a style so unlike that of conversation, that I had not patience to read much of it, though I should have been glad to learn from it the true principles of the American government. I can compare the style to no other than that of Bentham, a style so cramp and involved, so zigzag and perplexing, that it has been pronounced to be neither English nor any other language. How foolish is it to adopt such a one! Bentham's works are read and admired in Dupont's French translation, appearing as much more beautiful than

the original as papilionaceous insects than the grubs from which they emanate. Taylor's work will, I believe, attract little public attention, unless it undergo a similar metamorphosis.

Raymond's Elements of Political Economy is a valuable work. In examining those principles laid down by Adam Smith from which he dissents, he manifests very considerable acumen, causing respect for his ingenuity even where he fails to convince. The language is in some parts perhaps rather too dogmatical for a philosophical treatise, and in others disfigured by needless repetition, but as the style is generally clear and cogent, minor errors may be pardoned. It would be foreign to my plan to comment on any of Raymond's premises or deductions, though I should like very well to do so; I shall therefore briefly remark, that his book evinces patient thought and investigation, that his principles though not always convincing are plausible, and that some of them appear to be original.

As it is not my intention to comment on the works of deceased Americans which are well known and appreciated in England, and which have taken a stand in most libraries, I shall only

add some remarks on American poetry and the writings of Washington Irving.

America boasts of some of her poets, and it will I suppose be attributed to English prejudice, when it is known that none of them are popular on this side the Atlantic: yet there are many amongst us who would willingly render praise to transatlantic genius, and hail its triumphs with sincere satisfaction. Indeed it may be said of Englishmen generally, that they are very favourably disposed to America and her citizens. The reason therefore, why American poetry has obtained so little notice is, because so little of it is above mediocrity. Barlow's Columbiad is left, even at home, to gather dust and cobwebs, like Sir Richard Blackmore's epics and Louis Buonaparte's Charlemagne. The person who undertakes to read it through, may find beauties in it, as Bunyan's pilgrim did in the land of Beulah, and yet like the pilgrim, be overpowered by its papaverous influence. Splendid passages may be found in Prior's Solomon or Lucan's Pharsalia; yet who cares about either of them?

Pierrepont's Airs of Palestine has sweetness

and melody, but the style is too palpably an imitation of Campbell's; a style which, whatever may be its beauties, it is with the exception of Darwin's, perhaps the most dangerous to attempt to emulate of any in English poetry. Hilhouse's Judgment has passages which remind one of Blair's Grave and Porteus's Death. It seems worthy to rank with them in public estimation. When we consider that Young, whose talents seem to have fitted him for solemn themes, failed in his Last Day to describe the judgment in an impressive manner, we must give additional credit to Hilhouse for his success. His poem is written in blank verse, the comparative facility of which has led so many poets into rhapsodies and tuneless periods. The author of the poem entitled The Aborigines of America, has by adopting it, been led into tediousness. Like Thomson's Liberty, it appears to be the production of a man capable of something better.

The Poems of Percival have passages of very considerable beauty, but the versification is seldom sufficiently exact. In those written in blank verse, the imitation of the style of Southey is too conspicuous, which, however pleasing, is by no means the best model for a young poet. The pieces in irregular rhyme like Milton's Lycidas,

as well as the poem in the Spenserian stanza entitled Prometheus, too often remind the reader of Lord Byron, though I will not assert that Percival imitated his peculiar manner; yet his frequent reference to his own secret feelings might well induce the suspicion. Notwithstanding the very considerable merits of some of Percival's poems, I do not think that his name is likely to be familiar to posterity, unless he produce something still better than he has hitherto offered to the public. As he is but a young man, perhaps he may yet adorn our literature with flowers of lasting fragrance, and enrich it with fruits grateful to the palate. His spring has exhibited buds of no mean promise: may his autumn be answerably rich. Pauling's Backwoodsman has in it something delightfully original, but like the subject, wants more polish before it is adapted for the drawing-room. The ornamental parts are rather too gaudy for the eye of taste.

Scott and Byron have their imitators in America; but who regards the works of imitators when he can have those of their originals? If it be thought that the American poets have not had their meed of praise from the English public, let it be remembered that we live in an age fertile of poetic genius beyond all precedent; and

that two or three names engross the public fame,

> "While Milton, Dryden, Pope, alike forgot,
> Resign their hallowed bays to Walter Scott."

Besides, there is a great deal of fashion in the estimation of literary productions, as well as in the shape of a bonnet or coat. I cannot but think that it is the influence of fashion which has given such celebrity to Washington Irving, with whose writings I must wind up this imperfect survey of American literature.

His earliest publication was I believe Salmagundi, a series of essays in the manner of Goldsmith's, and little, if at all, inferior to them. The next was, I suppose, Knickerbocker, much admired by many for its sly humour, but which always appeared to me to be too forced to be natural. But it was the Sketch Book, and more recently Bracebridge Hall, which established his fame. Of these therefore I shall more particularly speak. He has the merit of a flowing, mellifluous style, produced by the collocation of the words in so artful a manner, as to conceal the labour which has been bestowed. It is clear, but not harsh; full, but not redundant. His descriptions have much beauty in their minuteness, reminding one of some of the finest passages in

Gessner's Idylls, and in their richness of the masterly delineations of Buffon. His sentiments generally exhibit him as the friend of whatever tends to good humour, peace and benevolence. If such be the merits of his writings, how, it may be said, can it be owing to fashion, that he has risen into celebrity? I reply, that his merits are not of the common order, and that therefore he was entitled to celebrity, but not to that extraordinary degree which has been his lot. He has been represented as almost a faultless writer; yet it may be observed that his words, however beautifully arranged, are often ill chosen; that his narratives are unskillfully told; and that his humour, happy as it sometimes is, is often as misplaced as roses in a garden by the side of poppies. If his famous tale of the Legend of Sleepy Hollow be read with attention, it will be found to contain numerous faults of the kind I have mentioned.

I will now endeavour to show in what way it is, that fashion has operated respecting his writings. In the first place, his being an American was in his favour, public curiosity being excited to see a production of acknowledged merit, by one whose countrymen were supposed to have done marvellously little in the embellishment of

our common literature. Novelty attracts attention, and when any thing extraordinary is united to it, the attention is doubled. Hence it is, that when the poems of Bloomfield were announced as the production of a plough-boy, and those of Barton as the production of a Quaker, curiosity was instantly on tiptoe, and praise was unduly lavished. Few persons have courage to deviate from generally received opinion; and as all might find something to admire in each of those poets, most were willing to return the echo, till nothing was heard but the sound of praise. Now though I readily admit, that Irving's works are much above mediocrity, and that theirs are of only moderate excellence, yet as many persons seemed to think that the circumstance of an American's writing prose of conspicuous elegance, was as anomalous as that of a ploughboy's or a Quaker's writing good verse, we may fairly attribute much of his reputation to this cause. Probably however, the periodical press was more effective than any thing else in blinding people to his defects. The Edinburgh Review had been taxed with unjust vituperation of American authors, and the editor seemed determined to shew that he had no hostile feeling to the country; accordingly, he availed himself of his opportunity to praise Irving, to do it in such terms as should

be perfectly satisfactory to his countrymen. The writer of the article in the Quarterly Review was almost bound to use recommendatory language, as the publisher of that Review was also the publisher of the Sketch Book; and it may be supposed that he would not wish a character to be given of it, tending to check its circulation. From these combined causes, I conceive that the works of Washington Irving have been rated beyond their real value. After all, they are likely to maintain a permanence equal to that of our most admired essayists.

America has not yet produced a single female author of any eminence. I do not think that this is a just subject of regret, seeing there are so few female authors whose works bear the impression of the softness and delicacy characteristic of their sex: and who would desire to see women adopt a masculine deportment or language? There are numerous instances of women having superior understandings, and yet maintaining as strictly as any, all the charms of their proper character; but it too often happens, that those who are said to possess masculine minds, are also conspicuous for other masculine qualities, and thus become unamiable. A reference to the works of female writers, may soon satisfy any one, of the liabi-

lity of women of superior understandings, to depart from the feminine character. To say nothing of the French female writers in general, and of that most extraordinary of all modern writers Madame De Stael, how few are there of our own female writers, whose works are free from passages indicative of masculine traits! In the Letters of Anna Seward, what a constant attempt is there to display her logical talents, and court applause for the justness of her reasonings. And what are we to think of Elizabeth Hamilton's system of Education, founded on the metaphysical subtleties of her countrymen Stewart and Reid? Who could read her book without perceiving that she was one whom no man could easily love? The works of Hannah More are justly esteemed for their pious tendency; but if the course of study pointed out by her for young ladies were generally followed, it may be reasonably supposed that the female character would lose as much in grace as it gained in strength. But one of the greatest proofs of what I wish to convey, is to be found in a beautiful romance lately published, entitled, Views of Society and Manners in America by Frances Wright, and which gives about as correct an idea of America, as Arcadian strains of pastoral life. The author recommends the ladies of that country to learn to

swim, to shoot, and to race. There is happily no danger of her recommendations of such a Spartan course being adopted; and I think that from a consideration of these and similar cases, America may rest perfectly satisfied with the reflection that though she cannot boast of her Hypatias, she can refer with satisfaction to her thousands of Cornelias.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GOVERNMENT.

AMERICA, which at the period of the Independence consisted of only thirteen States, has now twenty-four, besides East and West Florida, the Territories of Arkansaw and Michigan, and the District of Columbia. Each of the States has its own government in what relates to its internal regulations, the federal government being limited to foreign affairs, and to a few special ones of domestic policy. The plan of confederation is admirable. It tends to unite in brotherly love, States which would otherwise often be at variance, and peace is so invaluable a blessing, that whatever is calculated to preserve it, must promote the happiness and welfare of the people. If the Amphictyonic Council of Greece, had been established on as broad a basis as the American Congress, the evils of the Peloponnesian war might have been prevented, and perhaps the liberties of the country secured against Roman and Turkish usurpation. Before however, offering any remarks on the excellence or defects of the federal government, it may be as well to advert to the State governments.

The Constitutions of these governments are all republican; though no two are exactly correspondent. The electoral qualifications vary considerably; in some, the suffrage being nearly universal, in others, limited by property. From the best accounts I could obtain, those States are the best regulated where the qualifications are the highest. In Maryland and New York, where persons with little or no property vote, I heard much dissatisfaction expressed. In Virginia, where the suffrage is limited to the owners of fifty acres of freehold land, or a freehold house of equivalent value, I found a general approval of the conduct of the government. I of course speak of the better informed classes, for those who have no property at stake, are always contenders for the superior excellence of universal suffrage: yet even amongst the latter, I found the ground of complaint to be, not that any evil resulted from the limitation, but that they had by nature a right to vote.

In most of the States, the magistracy are elected by the people for a limited period. In Pennsylvania, they are appointed by the Governor for life, or at least, during good behaviour. From this circumstance, I was led to enquire, whether the Pennsylvanians are worse off than their neigh-

bours. After due enquiry, I judged not. I learnt that unfit persons are sometimes placed into office, from political or selfish causes; but I could learn no reasonable objection to the system of appointment, which would not apply with increased weight to popular election. Hence I am led to believe, that the advocates for universal suffrage have fallen into a great error, in supposing that natural justice demands it. All that is wanted in society, is the promotion of the general good; and if this can be better secured, as it assuredly can be, by a limited than by an unlimited right of suffrage, natural justice requires, that some should yield what otherwise they would be entitled to. In New Jersey, voting at one time was exercised by women as well as men. Indeed, there seems to be about as much reason for every woman having a right to vote, as every man. Where suffrage is universal, it follows that power is taken from the most intelligent, and given to the least, as will be evident by considering that the uneducated and ignorant abound most amongst the poor, who are necessarily the most numerous class in society. At the same time, I think that it is both unjust and impolitic, to exclude from the exercise of suffrage, a whole class like the blacks, merely because of the colour of their skin. A poor man by industry and frugality may

become rich; but it is physically impossible for a black to become white. There therefore the hardship lies. He feels himself an outlaw without just cause, and irremediably so.

It is sometimes said, that universal suffrage is the best security against the use of bribery, from the impossibility of bribing a large multitude. But a member of Congress told me, that he could bribe half his constituents with whiskey; and I was assured, that the election for Baltimore, had been secured by one of the candidates solely by bribery, though not by the direct use of money. Human nature is substantially the same every where: hence arises the propriety of limiting the suffrage to those who are least likely to be corrupted. Many persons in America, warm friends to their country and its institutions, told me that great evils would be prevented in several of the States, if the suffrage were more limited than it is. One gentleman who formerly advocated general, if not universal suffrage, assured me that the late extension of it in New York, had not produced the good which he and others had anticipated. As however, the mass of the people have a strong liking for general suffrage, demagogues avail themselves of the feeling, to ingratiate themselves into public es-

timation, and obtain applause. And it seems not improbable that the time will come, when nearly all, if not all the States, will have suffrage to the extent of the wishes of the populace. Whether so general an extension of it may not be injurious to the public welfare, and even to the public liberty, demands the serious attention of every well wisher to his country. One point connected with this subject appears to me clear, namely, that wherever the suffrage extends to the lowest of the populace, the period for which the members are elected should be of several years' duration, that they may have sufficient independence to propose or advocate measures, which though unpopular, appear to be serviceable to the public welfare. If indeed the uneducated mass of the community were qualified to decide on the policy of new measures, frequent elections and universal suffrage would be consonant to reason and propriety; but as this is never likely to be the case, it is desirable that the representatives should have such a degree of independence as to enable them to speak and vote according to their unbiassed judgment. That such independence has not been at all times felt, has been obvious on various occasions. I was assured on unquestionable authority, that members had been deterred

from espousing measures which appeared to them highly expedient from the fear of popular obloquy. Either therefore, the suffrage should be less extensive, or the period for which the members are appointed should be of longer duration. In a country where a free press is established, and where the number of electors is sufficiently large to ensure the people from the exercise of despotism and the corrupt influence of the enemies of freedom, there is no occasion to render legislators subservient to the capriciousness of the mobility. Legislators should have an unbounded range within the limits prescribed by law, without fearing that a little restiveness would be the cause of their dismissal from the enclosure.

The only State legislature which I had an opportunity of attending when in session, was that of Pennsylvania. The business was conducted with that decorum which marks all public bodies in the United States. A question was before the upper house involving several considerations of political economy; a science which seems to be as little understood as religion, if we may judge by the diversity of opinions on any given branch of it. Two of the speakers handled the subject in a masterly manner, bringing to the discussion,

minds evidently prepared by previous study to develope their ideas clearly and logically. Though their opponents could not match them in argument, they were able to overpower them by numbers, selfish considerations and party bias bringing a decision contrary to sound policy. It is proper to add, that the legislature of Pennsylvania is elected by a very general suffrage of the people, wherefore, we need not be surprised that some measures pass and others are rejected, rather in compliance with popular clamour than from the deliberate opinion of the members. One thing which particularly struck me in their proceedings, was the great number of petitions presented on different subjects, and not only petitions but remonstrances. The reason of my taking such particular notice of them, arose from my remembering an argument used in the House of Commons in favour of a reform in the representation of the people. It was contended, that if the people of England were more faithfully represented, the House would no longer be burdened with multitudes of petitions complaining of grievances, as the people would have so much confidence in the persons of their choice, as to render petitioning almost unnecessary. The experience of Pennsylvania with its nearly universal suffrage, is not confirmatory of this argument.

In the lower house, a debate about a printing job occupied two days. Matters of this kind should be arranged by a committee empowered to act definitively, an assembly of one hundred men being little adapted to settle what quality of paper, and size of type are requisite. And as to price, if the committee cannot be trusted to make a bargain, let public notice be issued for tenders, the lowest bidder to be the contractor. A gentleman to whom I expressed these sentiments, contended in reply, that the representatives must as a body give their sanction to every pecuniary grant; consequently, that it was their bounden duty to examine the items. I can see no propriety in this. Power is delegated by the many to the few, because the former find it impossible to attend to the general interests. A committee fairly chosen, may act with as much propriety for a legislative assembly in certain cases, as the assembly for the people. In the case under notice, a considerable additional expense was probably incurred, in consequence of the time employed in its discussion; for as the House consists of one hundred members, each of whom receives three dollars a day, and as two days were occupied about it, here was a charge upon the people of six hundred dollars, to effect a saving of perhaps one hundred, if indeed, there

was any saving effected. The whole concern seemed to me rather too beggarly for a legislative body. It is said, with what truth I pretend not to determine, that the members of all the legislatures in America, are willing to protract the time of their remaining in session to the longest possible period, that the sum of money to be received by them for their services may be considerable. If so, the compensation should be by an annual sum instead of a daily.

There is one circumstance resulting from so many separate State governments, which may in time lead to serious inconveniences; I allude to the difference in laws. Perhaps scarcely any thing tends more to unite a people into general harmony, and make them feel a common interest, than the being subject to the same laws in all parts of the country. In America, however, the difference in the laws between one State and another is often considerable, and is said to be constantly widening. In this there must be considerable disadvantage; though a counterbalance may probably be found, in the rivalship of the States in enacting laws of a salutary influence. The career of human improvement is doubtless accelerated by the emulation of different nations; and if the Americans have also

the same stimulus amongst themselves, they may possibly improve in an increased ratio.

A common interest on many great points, must necessarily be felt by the various States of the Union. The general government is framed on such equitable terms, that every state is interested in its preservation. The number of representatives sent by each State to the House of Representatives, is apportioned agreeably to their respective numerical amounts of population, while to prevent the possibility of the interests of the minor States being overpowered by the major, the Senate is constituted of an equal number of members from each State. The representatives are elected biennially, the senators sexennially. The former are elected by the people, the latter by the State legislatures. Each State determines on the qualifications of the electors, and the mode of election. In most of the States, ballot is I believe adopted. In Virginia, however, the oral mode has always been in use. Ballot has been supposed by many to be favourable to freedom, by offering a mode of voting which can never comport with bribery, or with the influence of rank and power over the lower classes. Cicero appears to have been of this opinion, as we find him in his dialogue on

friendship, objecting to the Gabinian law, by which ballot was enacted in lieu of oral voting, on the ground that the populace would gain the ascendancy in elections; a degree of freedom to which he was averse. But from what I saw and heard in America, I was convinced that it is a very imperfect method of preventing either munerary or other influence; for by means of tickets printed on paper of a particular colour, and by other similar devices, it is generally well known for whom a person votes. Certainly ballot is unnecessary in all countries where proper freedom prevails; as a man truly free has no fear of evil from any vote which he may think fit to give. The less secrecy and mystery there is in political matters, the better: every thing in a land of freedom should be open to public inspection. Ballot, to my mind, implies a degree of cowardice as unworthy of a free people, as artificial supports are of expert swimmers.

One part of the American mode of election might be very advantageously introduced into England. Instead of having only one polling booth in a county, there is commonly one in each township; by which means great expense is saved, inducements to riot and disorder are checked, and the whole is speedily terminated.

In Pennsylvania, the election of Governor is the work of only one day.

The federal government is supported by import duties, and the sums raised by the sale of land purchased of the Indians, no excise or assessment being established. It may however be reasonably doubted, whether the prosperity of the country be so much promoted by this absence of taxation, as it would by a moderate excise. John de Witt, the famous Pensionary of Holland, and one of the greatest statesmen Europe ever produced, was of opinion, that internal prosperity was advanced by taxation perpetually increasing. This, however, could of course only be true, where the amount raised was judiciously expended. That the Americans do not derive so much benefit from their freedom of taxation as is generally supposed, is evident from one simple circumstance. In England, there is a high duty on malt, hops, and beer; yet notwithstanding this triple duty, beer is retailed in England cheaper than in America. I mentioned this to an American statesman of high repute, who admitted that their policy was erroneous.

There is, however, an assessment on housekeepers for the support of the respective State

governments; a mode of taxation more exceptionable than an excise for various reasons, and not so likely to promote the general welfare of the community. In New York, this assessment is on property, probably the most equitable principle of direct taxation that can be devised, but which is likely to lead to much malversation, and become, as it did in England, odious to the people from its inquisitorial nature. I must add, for the information of many of my countrymen who have deceived themselves respecting the comparative advantages of a residence at home or in the United States, that the sale of household goods under the sheriff's authority is a matter of common occurrence in many parts of the country, so difficult, and indeed impossible, is it to levy the taxes without resorting to legal assistance.

It is not my intention to enter on an extended examination of the constitution and principles of the federal government, as such an examination would scarcely harmonise with the other parts of this book. A few general observations are all I shall offer. It is proper for me to premise, that I am not a great admirer of republicanism, but strongly attached to a monarchy under the limitations of law.

People in England often confound the two words, government and constitution, as if they were synonimous or nearly so. In America, this mistake is never made; the reason for which is, that each State government, as well as the federal government, has a written constitution which is unalterable without the concurrence of the people; whereas, the English government has a constitution founded mainly on ancient usage and modern precedents; but which may be altered by the concurrence of its three estates without a separate appeal to the people. I have indeed heard it maintained, that England has a written constitution, because the act of Union with Scotland determined the number of representatives which each country should have, and that the act of Union with Ireland settled the proportion for that country. But this is a very incomplete statement of the case. Can any thing but prescription be pleaded for numerous decayed boroughs sending representatives to the House of Commons? But in America nothing is left to prescription, the constitution defining accurately the limits and powers of the government, a provision being at the same time made for effecting those changes in the constitution which may from time to time be necessary or expedient. By this regulation, if some positive good be sometimes

gained, evil is also liable to be introduced. Frequent changes are so injurious to the well-being of a country, that it may be believed, that it is often better to bear some present inconveniences than to agree to alterations.

The principal error of the American constitution, appears to me to be the weakness of the executive power; for dangerous as it is to trust too much to individuals, it is often no less dangerous to a nation to have the executive authority in hands incapable of effecting full and prompt measures. The President can conclude no treaty without the consent of the Senate; and the concurrence of that body is requisite in the appointment of certain officers. This must be regarded as rather a clumsy contrivance, and of little national advantage; for though some check is requisite, it should not be vested in so large a body as the Senate, and which is only part of the year in session. Besides, suppose that the President should provisionally conclude a treaty, in which some pecuniary compensation was to be made to a foreign power, how can the Senate act in such a case independent of the House of Representatives? for the Senate has no power to originate a money bill. The weakness of the executive was remarkably manifested on a recent occasion.

An expedition was fitted out to explore certain parts of the territory west of the Mississippi; but after about half finishing its assigned task, it was recalled, on the allegation that the finances of the country were so low, that no additional expense must be incurred! In this instance, not only did the government appear weak, but the country itself contemptible.

Another error in the constitution, is the great extent of the suffrage exercised by the people in union with the frequency of the elections: but on this subject I have before animadverted. The objection, agreeably to what I stated a few pages back, applies to the House of Representatives but not to the Senate, the Representatives being elected for two years, and the Senators for six, and the former being constituted by the electors of the most numerous branch of each State Assembly, while the latter are elected by each Assembly itself. The number of members which each State returns to the lower house is proportionate to its population; but to prevent the undue ascendancy of the populous States, the Senate is composed of an equal number from each State. Thus the members of the lower house represent the people, those of the upper the respective governments. Probably no

regulation could be devised more equitable or salutary than this, as by means of it, jealousy between one State and another is prevented, and a check is put on the exacerbation of the multitude in times of effervescence.

I am by no means satisfied that the Americans have acted discreetly in decreeing the entire separation of the executive from the legislative department. Information is often wanted which none but official persons can supply. In Congress this can seldom be obtained at the moment, and on the following day it may come too late. The idea that much corruption and undue influence are prevented by the separation, will not be long held by those who know what human nature is. I was repeatedly assured, that in proportion to its duration, a more corrupt government than the American never existed; and I heard circumstances stated in illustration, which if true, appear to substantiate the charge. It should seem therefore, that the government is as much master of the citadel of corruption, as Giant Despair was of Doubting Castle. The executive now manage to have their measures supported by indirect means, instead of meeting their opponents openly in the field and boldly contending with them.

When Solon was asked to give a definition of the best popular government, he replied, that in which an injury done to the meanest citizen, is resented as an insult upon the whole constitution. If the American government be tried by the test of the Athenian lawgiver, it will be found defective. The meanest citizens in America are the free blacks, for the slaves, as a matter of course, are not entitled to the appellation of citizens; yet when the legislature of South Carolina passed its oppressive law against the blacks, subjecting them to imprisonment and slavery for no offence, the voice of indignation was scarcely heard. Even the North American Review, from which some active justice might have been expected, was no more roused to act, than the Christian senators in Constantinople, who continued their disputes about grace and election till the Turks had entered the city. Are the oppressed in America, to wait like the impotent at the pool of Bethesda for an angel to stir the waters? Publish it not, lest the enemies of the government rejoice. But whatever may may be the errors or defects of the government, it would be folly to deny, that it is one which, as far as the whites are concerned, is generally agreeable to the people, and having excellencies of no common order. It may not be so well

adapted as a limited monarchy to secure all the good that is desirable, but it secures so much, that the people have reason to be thankful, that they live in a land blessed with such a one.

A question has often been started as to its probable duration and extent. Plausible reasons may be given for believing, that its duration will be, if not perpetual, at least as long as that of any government which has preceded it; and that its extent will be from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Mexico to the shores of the arctic ocean. But so differently constituted is the American government from any of those of antiquity that the example of history is wanting to enable us to judge of the soundness of these reasons. That at no distant day, the States west of the Mississippi will have an interest opposed in many points to those on the east, and more especially to those forming the territory denominated New England, will be obvious on a little reflection. Whether this may not lead to a disruption of the Union, is a question not easily solved; but there is great probability, that in the event of a protracted war, an attempt at least would be made to effect it. Another circumstance worth considering is, whether the sta-

bility of the Union may not be endangered by the continuance of slavery in the southern States. The republic of Colombia in South America has decreed its abolition; symptoms of a wish to follow in the same track, have been manifested by Mexico; Hayti is not only free from it, but the blacks have the supremacy; and Cuba, in the event of its becoming independent of a foreign power, would almost certainly be compelled to put an end to it. The spirit of liberty would not be confined to those countries. The southern States would be placed in great jeopardy, not only from their example, but from that of the free States of the Union. Louisiana would be influenced by Mexico; Carolina and Georgia, to say nothing of Florida, by Hayti and Cuba; Maryland and Virginia by Pennsylvania; and Kentucky and Tennessee by Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Should a general insurrection of the slave population once take place, and a military force be requisite to quell it, the people of the free States would soon be disgusted at the idea of contributing to the upholding of tyranny. The contest, if long continued, would become unpopular with nearly all but the slave owners. I know it will be said, that the slave States have a militia sufficient for all the purposes of preventing a successful revolt; and that there-

fore the assistance of the other States would be unnecessary. But it must be remembered, that a general revolt is not very likely to occur without the instigation and succour of some foreign power; and in that case, the assistance of the other States would soon be essential. Remote as a general revolt of the slaves now appears to the whites of the southern States, they cannot deny that it is likely sooner or later to arise. It therefore becomes the duty of American statesmen, to ascertain how far such a matter is likely to affect the general interest of the United States. Probably they will find that it is not so unimportant as is generally supposed. One thing is clear, namely, that the Haytians must feel a hatred to all those governments which uphold slavery, and more especially to the government of the United States, which has acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies, and refused to perform the same act of justice to them, notwithstanding their much greater claim.

It would be improper to finish this chapter, without adverting to the probability of some of the British provinces being added to the Union. It must be the wish of the American government, not only to have the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, but to secure New Brunswick and

Canada, to prevent future hostility from those quarters, and to allay those jealousies which must arise so long as they continue separate. On the other hand, Great Britain will be reluctant to forego the supposed advantages of those extensive possessions, while the inhabitants may justly doubt whether they would benefit by the change. The influence of the Catholic clergy, which is very great in Lower Canada, would be exerted to prevent it, they having a dislike to the republicanism and protestantism of the United States, and a natural fear, that the alliance between their church and the government would cease, if the measure should be carried. In Upper Canada reasons of policy would operate to make the colonists distrust its expediency. Still it would be absurd to suppose, that Great Britain will be able to maintain her authority for ever; and as the three provinces I have named, and probably Nova Scotia, are sufficiently populous and powerful to exist independent of the mother country, it appears to me that it would be the interest of the latter to cede them to the United States for a proper compensation. If from any unforeseen cause, the colonies should resist the power of England, they would of course solicit, and most likely obtain, the co-operation of the United States. Under such circumstances, a war to keep

them in subjection would be uncommonly expensive, and almost certainly disastrous.

As to Mexico, California, and the West India islands, being added to the Union, a circumstance which some of the Americans are pleased to anticipate, the probabilities are so remote, that it is not worth while to examine them. Yet it must be admitted, that few things in government are more delightful, than a federal head to settle all differences between rival states. If the European governments had such a tribunal equitably constituted, how much war and bloodshed would be prevented! Penn suggested something of this kind, and Louis XIV. conceived the idea of effecting such an establishment, only that he wanted France to be at the head of it. If in a more enlightened age it should be adopted, it will be to the example of America that the world will be indebted for it.

I have often been rather surprised that Dean Swift, who is so unmerciful on regal governments in his Blefuscu and Lilliput, should not have aimed a blow at republics in his philosophical island of Laputa. What a fine subject for satire he might have found in the flattery which is offered to the people by their elected chiefs! As

Pericles used to enlarge before the Athenians on their love of liberty, so the demagogues and even the Presidents of America will condescend to court popularity by reminding the people of their possessing the sovereignty of the country. By jugglery and fawning being incessantly employed by the leaders, the sequacious herd have learnt that disposition to extol their bravery and virtue, which has excited such disgust in the minds of foreigners, but which, though often mentioned, is still as conspicuous as ever. Educated persons have also taken the infection, which has manifested itself in their extravagant eulogiums on the country and its government. Thus in one of the Addresses before the Pennsylvanian Agricultural Society, it is asserted, that the only distinction known in the country is that between virtue and vice! The illative position from this is, that slavery does not exist in America, and that the free blacks are admissible and admitted into all the public offices. Would that the government merited the character which this writer has bestowed on it! Yet in spite of all that may be urged against it, it is entitled to admiration and respect, as the fragrance of the rose delights notwithstanding the thorns that encompass it.

CHAPTER XXVII.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

DURING the contest of the colonies with England, there were two parties, the one favourable to a settlement of the differences between them without a disruption of the connection, the other bent on an unqualified separation. After the Independence was effected, two other parties were formed, which with modifications still remain. They assumed, or had bestowed on them, the names of Democrats and Federalists. The Democrats espoused the cause of France, the Federalists that of England, in the subsequent contest between the two powers; and it required all the energy and talent of Washington to prevent the nation's offering assistance to France; a measure which must have been most injurious to America. The Democrats had conceived the idea, that the French in assisting the Americans to throw off the authority of England, had been actuated by the love of liberty, not perceiving that the influential motive was jealousy and hatred of England. Accordingly, after the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty, and the forma-

tion of a republic, they were very desirous of supporting that republic against the arms of England and her allies. Gratitude, it was contended, required that the Americans should assist France, in return for her co-operation in the struggle for Independence. Washington happily saw that the interests of the country demanded neutrality, and to its maintenance he devoted himself. He was not possessed of so grasping an intellect as Cæsar or Napoleon; but he had a clear judgment, an ardent attachment to rational liberty, and great firmness combined with greater prudence. Though he had ambition, it was not the mad ambition of a conqueror who is content to desolate kingdoms to swell his own triumph, but that of a patriot whose aim is to improve his country by mild and moderate measures. Happy indeed was it for America, that such a man conducted her revolutionary contest, and laid the foundations of her stability and prosperity, The confidence which the people reposed in him, was the salvation of the country from joining in the system of European politics. His successor in the Presidency trod in his footsteps; and it was not till the election of Jefferson that the democratic faction gained the ascendency. It would exceed the proper limits and indeed object of this book, to attempt to

trace the effect of his measures whether successful or otherwise; but it will be proper to show the errors into which the Democrats were led, by party bias and false zeal.

Perhaps no political chief ever had more reliance placed on him than Jefferson. He was the man who according to his partisans was to raise America to the pinnacle of prosperity, yet it is worth noticing, that he fell far below Washington in the success of his policy, and was as inconsistent as Robespierre respecting liberty. Not that it is meant to be insinuated that Jefferson is to be regarded with horror like that sanguinary monster, or that in his public measures he was not actuated by patriotism: far otherwise. Still he was inconsistent as it respected liberty. He was the author of the celebrated Declaration of Independence; a document which speaks of liberty as a natural and inalienable right, and which denounces George III. as a tyrant for his attempts to deprive the Americans of it: and yet this man was then the owner of hundreds of slaves, and has continued so to the present day! It certainly was not his fault that his patrimonial estate was cultivated by slaves; the inconsistency lay in denouncing George III. as a tyrant, while he himself con-

tinued to hold slaves without making any attempt to persuade the State Assembly to abolish slavery, or instituting means to prepare his own slaves for that freedom, which, according to the Declaration, is the birthright of all men. Washington too was the owner of slaves; but when we consider how little of his time was given to his private affairs, and how little the public attention had been drawn to the injustice and iniquity of slavery, we may fairly acquit him of a like inconsistency. That he lamented the existence of slavery and desired its extirpation, cannot be doubted; for by his will, he manumitted all his slaves; a measure, however, which was not consonant to his general prudence, as the slaves on an estate should not be released in a body, but gradually. His memory, however, will be revered by posterity as it is by the present generation, for his noble devotion to his country's interest, for his admirable and successful policy, for his avoiding the errors of heroes and conquerors, and for having shown his moderation by retiring from power, as soon as the new government had become sufficiently stable to continue without his paternal superintendence. The memory of Jefferson will be regarded with less esteem, and with considerable drawbacks. Some will censure his policy; others will question his

sincerity: his character at best will be considered equivocal. Yet because he succeeded in gaining the ascendancy of the Federalists, he was viewed by the Democrats as one of the greatest benefactors to his country.

Jefferson had not only a dislike to England, he had a detestation of it. While the policy of Washington tended to allay the hostile feeling occasioned by the revolutionary contest towards the mother country, that of Jefferson fostered and increased it. Hence the Democrats not only professed themselves the friends of republican France, but of Napoleon himself. It may appear anomalous that the party in America which advocated the cause of liberty (and it was this cause to which the Democrats avowed themselves particularly devoted,) should also espouse that of Napoleon, since no European monarch ruled more absolutely than he. Such inconsistences are however so common that we need not be surprised at them. The American advocates for liberty looked to what he overturned, not to what he established. They saw that the ancient dynasties were falling before him, and that a spirit of resistance to long established authority was every where rising. These things were enough for them. Napoleon's splendid deeds

filled their imagination; his genius captivated their affections. Apparently regardless that he was creating a power more despotic than those he destroyed, they gave him full credit for intending to make his designs subservient to the general freedom of Europe. They saw indeed that his own power was augmenting; that liberty was more and more curtailed wherever it extended; that his brothers were placed on the thrones of nations to whom they were aliens; and that these nations were plundered, and made dependencies on France. All these were however to be forgiven, under the hope that he would effect, if not a conquest of England, at least a revolution in it. The Democrats seemed to think, that Napoleon, like some hero of romance, was fitted to encounter giants and magicians, to overthrow castles and slay their guardian dragons, while his sole ambition was to renovate the world. Even to the present day the delusion has not quite vanished, his attempted justification to his attendants at St. Helena, having again dazzled and almost blinded some, who were before beginning to see clearly.

That the Democrats, notwithstanding their declared devotion to liberty, are not in reality so friendly to it as some of the opposite party, I had

good reasons for believing. I was conversing with a hot-headed, violent clamourer for liberty, who lavished his abuse on England for her intolerance, when I asked him what he could offer in vindication of the different State governments of his own country for their laws concerning the free negroes. "Why," said he, "I see nothing inconsistent with civil liberty in excluding them from power, as they do not belong to our nation. They are to be considered as foreigners; and surely if a body of foreigners settle amongst us, we have an undoubted right to decree, that they and their posterity shall continue aliens." The person who made this remark was a man of education, and of considerable repute for his attainments; but at the same time so impatient of opposition, no matter how gentle, that I let him keep the field in conscious triumph. Another person of correspondent political sentiments, argued with me so strongly in favour of the superior intelligence of the Americans, and of their being so much more enlightened than any other people in all that regards government, that I asked him if they could see further into a brick wall than other people. This put him a little to the nonplus; but he continued to speak of America as the land of freemen, and England as that of slaves. He was one who appeared to have

studied much, though to little purpose as far as the removal of prejudice was concerned. A third person was speaking to me in praise of the government, when I remarked to him, that I thought the Democrats were not sufficiently tolerant to those who opposed the government. "Why," said he, "I think that those who write against so good a government ought to be hanged." I remarked in reply, that though it was proper that the transgressors of the libel laws should be punished, there being no true liberty without restraint, yet I could not accord with him in opinion that death was a proper punishment. However he persisted in his opinion that it was. From this, I judged that he could not be a man of much education; but I instance it to show that those who are the loudest clamourers for liberty are not always the readiest to grant it.

But the most curious case of the intolerant spirit of the Democrats that came under my notice, was in the corporation of New York. During my stay in that city, a small book was published bearing the title of "Gotham and the Gothamites." It was a piece of low, vulgar abuse decked with witticisms, intended to raise a laugh at some members of the corporation, and at several public characters, and was much on a

par with those caricatures of royalty so common in England. The English tories would have been ashamed to show any resentment at such a production against themselves; but the New York Democrats do not like to be laughed at, and ordered the District Attorney to prepare an indictment. The thing seemed to me too contemptible for prosecution, however the poor author was brought to trial. What was the issue of it I cannot say, as the proceedings were unfinished when I left.

The Federalists on their part have fallen into errors respecting both their own government and that of England. I fell into company with one of the strongest partisans amongst them at Boston, the tone of whose remarks on their government was so tinctured with unworthy prejudice, that I endeavoured to convince him that more good was to be found under it than he was willing to admit. The circumstance of my being an Englishman induced him to think favourably of my remarks, and in consequence of them his tone was so much moderated, that one present told me he had not seen him so reasonable for years.

The great error of the Federalists respecting

England, has been their defending those parts of the constitution, those acts of the government, and those laws, which have been and are at variance with the times in which we live. Accordingly, some of them when in England have found themselves put a little into difficulties: for in conversing with the tories, they have had to argue with men whose opinions on politics were mainly correspondent with their own, but whose respect for America was very little; while they have found the whigs admirers of America, but opposed to them in other matters.

At present, party spirit is nearly dormant in the United States, compared at least with what it was a few years ago, there being fewer exciting causes. The question which has for some years engaged the attention of American politicians, on the expediency of prohibitory duties on foreign manufactured articles, is one rather of particular local interests than of party feeling. In the southern States where no manufactures are carried on, and where none can be profitably carried on while slavery continues, there is of course a hostile feeling to this measure. In other districts it is opposed on mercantile grounds; while in some, it is supported under the impression, that their interests will be promoted by the in-

dependence of the nation on foreign countries. The idea of a nation's being so independent, as to flourish without foreign supplies, is one agreeable to patriotic feeling; but a little examination may convince us of the folly of entertaining it. The landed interest in England insisted much on it, when the famous corn bill, which has been productive of such melancholy results, was in agitation. The farmers in particular were to profit by it; yet there has been more agricultural distress since it was passed than was the case before. The freer the intercourse between the different nations in the world, the greater must be their common benefit and improvement. If China permitted a free intercourse with foreign countries, she would soon begin to emerge from her present degraded mental condition. That the American manufacturers might experience a temporary improvement is highly probable; but that the country at large would find any benefits, or the manufacturers themselves for a permanence, is by no means clear. England, after a trial of two centuries of the exclusive system, is at length giving it up, and certainly with great prospects of advantage to the country.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE.

The English common law is of authority in all the States originally English. In Pennsylvania, it is true, an act was passed many years ago declaring it of no authority, but like many other acts it is not regarded, the decisions of our courts being cited as frequently in the courts of that State as of the other States, and as much weight being attached to them. It is worth remarking, that the Americans, who profess to pay no regard to precedent in respect to the powers of government, are guided chiefly by precedent in their judicatories. Whatever credit therefore may be due to them for their improvements in government, I can see little they can claim in jurisprudence. Some of their statutes are doubtless more worthy of the age, than those antiquated laws relative to capital crimes which disgrace the statute-book of England; but the Americans have not effected such a change in the system of law proceedings, as their separation from England, and the superior intelligence of the age require. Not one of the States has yet had its So-

lon, Justinian or Napoleon. The lawyers have found it so much to their interest and advantage to support the anomalies of English law, that few of them have been removed. Even in the framing of acts, they have retained all that useless and nonsensical repetition of words and phrases which, under the pretence of preventing mis-construction, is as often the cause of it, rendering such instruments unfit for their purpose, as blindness or lameness disqualify for guidance. Written laws ought to be so clear that he who runs may read; but they are commonly as obscure as a distant object in a cloudy day.

Though I cannot praise the Americans for their improvements of law as a science, yet I acknowledge that they have shown a great readiness to remove some of the most objectionable parts of old English law. In few of the States are crimes short of murder punished with death; in none, I believe, is that terrible punishment inflicted for crimes so small as in England: yet property and tranquillity are on the whole not badly secured, though the expense of such security is much less. It is remarkable however, that notwithstanding the alterations they have made, they still retain in most of the States, the laws against usury, and in some, the assize of bread.

A bill to establish a limitation to the interest of money, passed the legislature of Louisiana, but the Governor very properly refused to affix his signature to it, so that it was relinquished. Louisiana, it must be remembered, was not originally an English colony.

There is one remarkable difference between the laws of the two countries on the subject of insolvency. The punishment of imprisonment for that offence, has been abolished in several of the States, conformably with the Code Napoleon. How far this may be found beneficial to the common interest, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Though the propriety of the measure has been much eulogised by some writers and speakers amongst them, I heard great dissatisfaction expressed by numbers.

One very striking feature in the American judicatories, is the reception of testimony without the sanction of an oath; not that oaths are abolished in any of the States, but because it is optional with a witness to take them. This option was doubtless at first given, in compliance with the conscientious scruples of the Society of Friends; but numbers amongst the Baptists and other religionists avail themselves of it; and

what deserves remembrance, no inconvenience that I could learn, has ever resulted from it. The opinion is so established in England, that juratory evidence is more worthy of credence than that which is simply affirmative, that I suppose the experience and example of America will have little effect at present: yet it is worth while to endeavour to ascertain if the opinion is well grounded. Oaths must have originated in a barbarous age, and most probably from superstition. As men become civilized and enlightened, the necessity of them, supposing they are ever necessary, soon ceases. The tendering of an oath to a person who has never been convicted of falsehood, is at variance with justice and good sense. Like the ordeals used to detect witchcraft, or the appeals to Heaven's justice by the knights of single combat, it is ill adapted to the sentiments of those who have taught themselves to believe, that reason and probability must decide in doubtful matters. Amongst the advocates for the utility of oaths, are there many who would believe a person on his oath, whose deliberate and solemn affirmation they would distrust? I suspect not; for who does not perceive, that the man who shudders not at mendacity, would be likely to be guilty of perjury? The security for obtaining truth in judicial cases, is to be found in the

cross examination, in public exposure, and in the fear of incurring the punishment for false evidence.

That oaths do not tend to secure truth more than simple affirmation, is abundantly evident, for perjury is continually taking place on the part of persons whose education and standing in life exempt them from being suspected ignorant of the importance of moral rectitude. English juries have in a thousand cases, given verdicts contrary to evidence to save criminals from the gallows, thus suffering humanity to operate so powerfully, as to induce them to believe that it would be better to perjure themselves, than be accessory to the death of persons, for crimes of insufficient magnitude to demand the blood of their perpetrators. The oath taken by the freemen and livery of London, is I believe rarely observed completely. For instance, is there one liveryman in a hundred, who thinks himself bound to obey all the lawful summonses to the court of his company? Let any liveryman read the words of his oath with attention, and he will soon perceive how little it is regarded by most in some other respects. The oaths taken on matriculation at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are accompanied by explana-

tions, the purport of which is to prove that the oaths themselves are to be understood differently to what their language conveys to every mind; consequently, that the swearer is to adopt a mental reservation while using them, though such reservation is as incompatible with morality and religion as perjury itself. If it be said, that there is no mental reservation in such cases, because both the administrator and the taker of the oath, are agreed in interpreting it in the same sense, I reply, that this is a tergiversation which cannot be admitted; because, if it be allowable in any case, to say one thing and mean another quite opposite, truth will be, like a flexible body, capable of being turned into any shape at pleasure, and will be completely identified with falsehood. Besides it should ever be borne in mind that a third party exists, namely, the Being appealed to; and how are the other two parties to ascertain that he sanctions the departure from the words used? And yet without his sanction, how can any one be justified in adopting any other than the literal meaning? A striking proof of the uselessness of oaths, is to be found in the practice of the two Houses of Parliament, evidence before the Lords being always juratory, that before the Commons affirmative only. Are witnesses before the latter, entitled to have less

confidence placed in their veracity, than those before the Lords? Or, are the Commons more perspicacious than they in detecting deception and falsehood? These questions must be answered in the affirmative before the utility of oaths can be proved; and though an affirmative answer should be given to the first on abstract principles, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate it by examples from the records of the Houses.

It will be admitted, that if truth can be as well elicited without oaths as with them, it is proper to discard them, since evils arise from their adoption. Must not unnecessary appeals to the Deity, tend to abate the reverence with which his name should be mentioned? And must not making him a party in our petty transactions, derogate from his high attributes? And is it not probable that the use of oaths, leads many to believe that they may violate truth in common conversation, without being guilty of a breach of morality? Leaving the first two of these questions to the reader's reflection, it may not be unimportant to say a few words on the latter. When a person arraigned in a court of justice pleads guilty, it is customary for the Judge to recommend him to withdraw the plea, and make

one of not guilty. Now if the prisoner had been sworn to the plea, would the Judge think himself justified in recommending perjury to him? If not, how is he to reconcile the recommendation of falsehood, one being in the eye of reason as evil as the other? It will be said, that the Judge is actuated by humanity and equity, as the evidence may be insufficient to convict the prisoner, when, of course, he is entitled to a verdict of acquittal. But as it would be preposterous to suppose that an innocent person would plead guilty, the conduct of the Judge in recommending deliberate falsehood, appears as inconsistent as that of a jury, who give a verdict irreconcileable with evidence to save a criminal from the gallows. But the inference that I wish particularly to draw is this, that if a man in the station of Judge, a man of education be it observed, and accustomed to reason on right and wrong, can in his official capacity recommend falsehood, though he would shudder to recommend perjury, we must suppose that many persons of inferior endowments, will persuade themselves into the belief, that when not under the sanction of an oath, mendacity may be practised with impunity. Let oaths be abolished, and simple affirmation substituted, and one will soon be as sacred as the other.

In answer to those who think, that many amongst the vulgar and ignorant, can never be brought to regard their words as sacred without an appeal to Divine justice, or rather, without an invocation of Divine vengeance, I would submit, that it was a prevalent opinion three centuries ago, that without an abundance of ceremonials, men would cease to be religious. The Reformation removed much of this false notion, and subsequent experience has amply demonstrated its futility. Treat men rationally, remove all mystery, and they may be governed without the influence of superstition. I have shown that oaths are frequently disregarded by jurymen and other persons above the vulgar herd; and I know of no good reason to suppose, that the ignorant are more likely to consider oaths obligatory than their better informed neighbours. I appeal to every Old Bailey solicitor whether it is not true, that oaths may be purchased at a small price of some of the most ignorant men in London.

A conviction is spreading amongst enlightened persons in the United States, that oaths are not only useless in themselves, but prejudicial to the cause of truth. This conviction too is said to be spreading amongst those who have the best means of judging, I mean the professors of the

law; and an anticipation has been formed, that the time is approaching, when several of the States will altogether discard them in judicial cases. It is desirable and important, that the sentiments of the Americans on the effects of those changes made by them in public matters, whether relative to government or jurisprudence, should be made known in Europe, especially in England, that their example may incite or deter as experience shall warrant. The prejudices of mankind are generally so strong in favour of established customs, that they are reluctant to forego them, till there is a clear probability of no injury resulting from a change. From this consideration, the intelligent reader will readily excuse the minuteness of my remarks on this subject; and therefore, though rather irrelevantly, I shall submit to his reflection and examination, whether even oaths to perform faithfully the duties of an office, might not be dispensed with. The example of clerks in confidential situations in the employ of merchants, may perhaps be almost sufficient to show their needlessness. The fidelity of clerks who have made no previous solemn declaration to that effect, is generally as strictly adhered to, as that of government officers bound by oath.

Connected with jurisprudence is prison discipline; and the Americans valuing themselves on the superiority of theirs, it seems needful to advert to it. This subject early claimed the attention of the Pennsylvanians; and the citizens of some of the other States have also thought much on the subject. It is one of so much importance, that philanthropists and statesmen in Europe have not been unmindful of it, since the time when the benevolent and indefatigable Howard, first aroused the public feeling on the necessity of improvement in the construction and management of jails. His successor Neild was of some service; but in England, little was done in effecting a thorough change till very recently. The publications of Roscoe, Buxton and Gurney, in conjunction with the society established in London for a superintendence of the subject, have been the means of very considerable changes and certainly some good being introduced. Yet it does not appear that prison discipline on a right footing has yet been established on either side of the Atlantic. When men however think long on a practical subject of a simple nature, they generally arrive at a conclusion near the true one. We may therefore hope that the reasonings and experience of the

two countries will soon lead to this desirable end.

The Pennsylvanians rightly judging that employment for prisoners would be preferable to idleness, established manufactures of various kinds in their jails. Weaving, shoe making and other handicraft and mechanical trades were regularly taught to the prisoners, who were then required to perform a given quantity of work. At the expiration of their sentence, a certain part of their earnings was returned to them, that they might be enabled to purchase tools and implements necessary to carry on the trade they had learnt, and thus at once commence a reputable course of life. The jailer and his turnkeys were under the inspection of a committee of managers, whose duty it was to see that no cruelty or needless severity was used to the prisoners. Their allowance of food was both ample and good. A coarse dress was worn by each when within the walls, their own being taken care of till the period of the expiration of their sentence. Good beds were placed for their use; and if they could obtain sheets they were allowed to use them. There was in this treatment too much of indulgence. It is said that kindness is more influential in reclaiming bad characters than harshness.

This probably is the case when those characters are convinced of the motives which prompt it; but still it is essential that such a degree of punishment be inflicted, as to create a horror of confinement. Prisoners whose comforts are as great as at their own houses, will be apt to regard confinement as so slight a punishment, as not to be deterred from crime by it. But when as in the Jail of Philadelphia, the comforts are even greater, how can it be expected that criminals should much dislike it? The jail certainly exhibits a pleasing scene of industry and order; but its discipline has been signally inefficient in reclaiming its inmates. I enquired of the jailer what proportion of the convicts had been in his custody before. He said he did not know the exact proportion, but that there were more than half, and he believed nearly two thirds. This frightful state of things has convinced many of the necessity of a change of system. A new jail is in progress of erection, in which it is intended to try the effect of solitary confinement without labour. This will be a most dreadful punishment, increasing the horrors of confinement in a tenfold ratio. But if carried to the extreme contemplated, it will I conceive be productive of evils as great as those sought to be removed. When a man has been confined solitarily for a

long period, without employment corporeal or mental, his faculties sink into a state of torpor, and sometimes, as was proved in the Bastile, into idiotism. It seems to me, that solitary confinement if the period be short, may effect much good; if long, much evil. Unless therefore an alteration take place in the existing laws, in the apportionment of punishment to crime, they will be oppressive and unjust.

The first object of punishment, it is contended, ought to be the reformation of the criminal. This is I think a mistake. Surely the first object, as has I believe been argued in the Edinburgh Review, is the protection of society. Punishment therefore should be of a nature to deter not only the criminal from a repetition of his offences, but others from committing the like; and if at the same time, a moral reformation can be effected in his character, it is of prodigious importance that it should be attempted. But unless it can be shown, that this moral reformation is the most effectual in protecting society from a violation of the laws, I must think that it is only a secondary object. As it is supposed by many, that solitary confinement is conducive not only to moral reformation, but is a terror to evil doers, it may be exceedingly proper to adopt it on a

limited scale, though I much question whether the improvement anticipated will be realized. That moral reformation alone is insufficient to secure society from a repetition of offences, will be evident from a consideration of the frailty of human nature. Suppose a prisoner under the discipline of a taskmaster, and from the effect of religious exhortation, to have become so entirely changed in his views, as to be as desirous of acting properly as he was before careless about it, does it follow that he will never relapse into his disregard of moral rectitude? Human nature, alas! is too prone to evil for us to suppose it. He finds, when set at liberty, that he is no longer what he was. His acquaintances of unblemished reputation shun him; but as he is naturally desirous of some society, he gradually slides into familiarity with the bad, rather than have none. Temptation soon assails him, and then, if the horrors of the jail are not before his eyes, he is very likely to yield to it. If he has been in a prison conducted on what is called the comfortable system, this is almost sure to be the case, as he remembers the days of his confinement with a degree of indifference as to their renewal. The great number of recommitments in the Philadelphian jail, is a proof of this. At Baltimore and Richmond, I found on enquiry, that

the recommitments were in a smaller ratio than at Philadelphia; but in the jails in those cities, the punishment is severer than in the latter. These particulars may be of some use, as the example of America respecting prisons has been often urged in England, more especially when it is considered, that the system adopted at Philadelphia, which has been represented as conspicuously efficacious in reforming criminals, is shortly to be superseded by one of a totally different nature, owing to the complete failure of the one hitherto used. It is needful to guard against the errors into which benevolent and humane persons fall, as well as into those of foolish and hard-hearted ones. The former class have done mischief on the subject of prison discipline, and are now desirous of repairing it. I wish that their new system may be so judiciously regulated, as to avoid errors of an opposite kind, but which may be no less fatal. I have however my fears concerning it, fears which I expressed to some of its promoters, and can therefore have no objection to repeat.

Before closing this chapter, it is proper to add that the administration of law is in general impartial, at least as impartial as in most other countries. I heard I confess some very strong

complaints of the contrary, but I paid little regard to them, as they were from persons evidently prejudiced. From this general character, I regret to state that exceptions must be made as it respects the coloured people, who are not always sure of receiving even that limited measure of justice to which they are entitled. Prejudice often leads the person under its influence into partiality, while at the same he is unconscious of its bias.

Though the bench has never been disgraced in America by such men as Tresillian and Jefferies, numbers have been raised to it little qualified for the station. One reason and probably the chief reason is, that the salaries attached to the office of judge are in most cases inadequate to tempt men of the first talents to accept it; a fatal mistake which the Americans have made, owing to that niggardly feeling in regard to needful expenses so remarkable in the different States. In New York, a judge on attaining the age of sixty years, must vacate his seat. This appears a foolish and unwise regulation, the mental faculties being seldom impaired at that age. Lord Mansfield, when on the bench at upwards of eighty years of age, was sufficiently clear-headed; and in fact it is impossible to fix on the average

time when decay commences. But what renders this regulation particularly objectionable is, that these discarded judges have no pension allowed them. Hence, if they have not secured a competency for their future subsistence, which can seldom be the case, they must return to the practice of the profession, perhaps even as attorneys, owing to the small division of labour, the same man in many cases being attorney, notary, conveyancer, proctor and barrister. Can it then be matter of surprise, that persons the most capable of fulfilling the judicial functions, are often amongst those who are the least willing to undertake them? I consider that the low salaries in the United States, are discreditable to the American people. Montesquieu speaks of the virtue of republics: a more conspicuous trait is their parsimony.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

America is, and necessarily must be, chiefly an agricultural country, the population not being sufficiently dense to enable her to compete with the manufacturing countries of Europe, except in goods of coarse fabric. Of these, cotton is the staple, the greatest manufactory of which is I believe established at Waltham near Boston. I regret much that I did not visit it, but some untoward circumstance operated to prevent me. It is said by persons who have visited the cotton mills in Manchester, to be equal to any of them in every respect; a fact, to which I can give full credit from the state of those on the Brandywine in Delaware, several of which I inspected, and found in a fine state as to the machinery employed. On the same river, there are gunpowder and flour mills. The latter are vastly superior to any I ever saw in England, not even excepting the much praised steam mills in the outskirts of London. The saving of manual labour in these mills was quite surprising to me, the whole process from the hopper being effected

by machinery, with the exception of filling the barrels, for which hands are in requisition. The meal is conveyed into a long trough in which a cylinder works. This cylinder being surrounded by diagonal flyers, the meal is moved to one end of the trough where it is transferred into small revolving buckets, which elevate it to an upper floor, emptying it there as they descend. By means of an instrument like a harrow, which is placed in a circular box or tub, the meal is then kept in motion till it is sufficiently cool for the last operation of dressing or bolting. This is done with silk cloths of Dutch manufacture, which are preferred by the millers to English worsted cloths or wires, and certainly answer their purpose remarkably well. The flour is pressed into the barrel by means of a board nearly the size of the rim, fixed in a frame attached to a lever, the power of moving which is obtained from the water wheel.

A chemical laboratory at Baltimore which I inspected is on a tolerably large scale. Its success may be in degree determined, by the fact that the proprietors have made exports to England, Holland and Germany of several of their articles. Calomel, blue vitriol, alum, and yellow chrome are manufactured by them in large quan-

tities. The acting partner in the concern is an Englishman with whom I became acquainted when we were boys. I renewed my acquaintance with him when I was at Baltimore, and received from him so much polite attention and hospitable entertainment, that I take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments to him. I wish he may succeed prosperously in his American undertaking, and see no reason to doubt that he will. When we consider that few, very few Englishmen, have found manufactures profitable in the United States, considerable credit must be given to those who establish such as are profitable.

I saw a satinnet manufactory on a large scale at a small town in New Jersey. The carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing are all carried on at this establishment. The acting proprietor, a young Irishman, showed me every part of it, the whole concern being as I thought, creditable to him. I saw gun manufactories at Ithaca in New York, and at Harper's Ferry in Virginia. The latter is an establishment belonging to the United States Government, and is celebrated for its lathe for turning gun-stocks. In ship-building the Americans equal or surpass every other people. Finer ships were never launched than

the packets which sail between New York and Liverpool. The cabin of one I was on board, surpassed in beauty and finish any thing I had previously imagined. I do not believe that Cleopatra's galley, splendid as it was, was half so beautiful.

From the comparative high price of labour, the ingenuity of the Americans has been exercised in inventing machines, and when invented they have been easily brought into operation, the inventors having little or nothing to fear from their introduction, owing to the circumstance of the paucity of manufactures, the immediate subsistence of thousands not being, as has been feared in England, in danger of being taken away by them. Hence it is, that some machines have been invented and used in America superior to those in England. Those for making cards, screws, and nails, are particularly praised for their exactness, besides a number for sundry processes in the woollen and cotton branches. There is a machine for making pins at Philadelpia so complete in itself, that a piece of wire of the proper length being put in, it becomes in passing through a perfect pin, headed and pointed. Probably art will be able to go little beyond this. The patent office at Washington where

models are deposited, is a glorious display of American ingenuity, inferior only to the similar establishment at the Abbey of St. Martin in Paris.

If the government acting on the principles of modern political economists, leave manufactures to establish themselves, they will spring up as they are wanted, and become profitable to the country; but if their establishment be forced by prohibitory import duties, the trade of the country will decay, and sooner or later, the evil of such short-sighted policy will be deplored. Smuggling would soon be introduced with its concomitant demoralization; the southern and northern States would view each other no longer with the friendly regard now so happily prevailing; and if a relaxation became expedient, a concentrated population would fall into those excesses and outrages which have so often disgraced the large towns in the north of England, and terrified the peaceable inhabitants.

The foreign commerce is at present very great. American ships sail in every sea from China to Peru, from Nootka to Australia. No chartered companies with exclusive privileges being established, individual talent and enterprise have full

scope, the beneficial effects of which are sensibly felt by the public at large, as well as by the mercantile interest. The merchant can offer his tea for instance, on lower terms than the East India Company, though taking all circumstances into account, that body ought to be able to supply England with it at a cheaper rate than is paid by the Americans. A considerable portion of the American trade with China is carried on by adventurers, who often make very profitable voyages. Sailing from Nantucket with a few articles of European manufacture, they exchange them at the Feejee and Sandwich Islands for provisions and sandal wood, and on the north-west of their own continent for furs. With these they steer for China, and barter them for tea. Sometimes they will take a cargo adapted for the South American market, which when disposed of for dollars, and the proceeds expended in tea, yields a good return. Tea however is not the only commodity they obtain at Canton. Nankeens and crapes sometimes make a fair portion of their cargo.

It would be useless to enter into many particulars of their extensive traffic with the Baltic, the Mediterranean and other parts of the eastern hemisphere. Suffice it to say that their flag is

as well known and respected as the British or the French. Having no export duties to pay, and their port charges being moderate, they can generally compete with the merchants of any other country. It is probable that in another half century, perhaps in a much shorter period, they will cease to import salt, iron and coals, they having mines of those articles. Though that should be the case they still must carry on a large trade with England, as it will be impossible for them to manufacture many articles on so good terms as we can supply them with. All their restrictive laws, if they should adopt such, would fail to prevent it. It has often appeared very surprising to me, that they should export such prodigious cargoes of linseed to Ireland. Why the Irish farmers, who have of late years complained so loudly of their distress, should be unable to supply their country with this seed, when the foreign pays a high duty to the government, I cannot comprehend.

Whenever the West India islands become independent of the European powers to which they are now subject (and that their independence sooner or later will take place, who can doubt?) the Americans will carry on a traffic with them much greater than they now do. All the West

India productions are wanted in the United States; and where but from the American continent can the West Indians look for a supply of salt provisions, flour, and several sorts of timber? At present the trade between them is much restricted by the high import duties levied by the British government; a policy unfair to the West Indians, and which may eventually be injurious to them in a still greater degree, by raising competitors for the European market in sugar, indigo and sundry other commodities. Most West India products might be cultivated in the States bordering the Gulf of Mexico. Already much sugar is made in Louisiana; and if the restrictions continue, the culture of the sugar-cane will extend into Alabama and Florida. So true is it, that whenever legislation is improperly directed, its object in some way or other is thwarted. This the Americans will experience, if ever the suggestion of the President to exclude European manufactures be carried, or attempted to be carried, into effect.

From the extent of territory, diversity of climate, difference in population, and other causes, the trade carried on between the different States in the Union is very great, the fine rivers contributing to it most materially. The produce from

the upper parts of Pennsylvania, conveyed by the Susquehanna into the Bay of Chesapeake, and along its margin is enormous. This has induced the Philadelphians to project the forming of a canal to unite the Susquehanna and the Delaware, in order to secure to themselves a portion of that trade of their own State which is now in a great measure monopolised by Baltimore and Annapolis. Another canal is also in contemplation, which may be perhaps of still more importance to the country, namely, one to unite the Ohio with the Potowmac. Such a canal passing through Washington, would have more than most other things a strong tendency to unite the western States with the southern, a point which to every American statesman must be obviously of first-rate importance. I have already alluded to the canal between Lake Erie and the Hudson. This great work will also greatly advantage the relations of the country. Within a very short time from the period of my writing, an inland navigable communication will be opened between New York and New Orleans. What a wonderful alteration will this be from America as it was only twenty years ago! It proclaims in audible language, that the Americans are equal in enterprise to any people in the world.

The dealers in the western parts, resort to the cities on the coast twice in the year, to lay in a stock of manufactured goods. Accordingly for two or three weeks every spring and autumn, New York and Philadelphia exhibit a very bustling scene, though not equal to that at the fairs of Leipsic and Frankfort. It is at such times that strangers should if possible contrive to visit those cities, as they are then in the way of meeting with persons from a very great distance inland, of whom they may learn much valuable information. These half-yearly assemblages are the chief I believe that occur in the country; as there are neither fairs nor corn-markets. It would surely be advantageous for the farmers in a neighbourhood to meet together once a week, as they might diffuse information amongst each other to their common benefit. It seems therefore extraordinary that they should omit to establish markets. At present, if a farmer wishes to dispose of his produce, he must take a sample from house to house till he finds a purchaser; this cannot be so convenient to either party as a general meeting in open market.

Much of the traffic in the newly settled parts is transacted by barter owing to the want of specie. The whole circulating medium in those

parts is bank-paper, silver and gold being as rare as in England they are plentiful. Even in parts more populous silver is far from plentiful. How indeed should it, when the banks issue notes as low as a dollar each. In Virginia, the Assembly has prohibited notes of a lower denomination than five dollars, the good effects of which may be easily conceived. But the most surprising thing connected with the currency is, that there are scarcely any copper coins. The poor must I should think often feel the want of them. The reason why the government has been so remiss in neglecting to provide a sufficiency, I cannot tell, unless it be owing to its poverty; for the metal may be had in abundance from England, Russia, and other countries.

The coasting trade is very great. The northern and southern States vary so much in climate, and of course in natural productions, that an interchange of commodities is mutually essential to their prosperity; and there being no duties of any kind on the goods of one State when carried into another, all the evils arising from fluctuations are remedied, as well as jealousies and contentions prevented. Some idea may be formed of the extent of traffic between the different parts of the Union, from the circumstance of

there being a regular steam-packet between New York and New Orleans, notwithstanding the prodigious distance of those cities from each other. This packet touches at Charleston and the Havannah, to lay in a fresh stock of fuel; and the trade with Cuba being considerable, many persons take passage to and from the latter place.

It is very remarkable, that a people so active and enterprising as the Americans, should not attempt to cultivate and bring to perfection many of those productions for which they are now indebted to foreign countries. The vine indeed has been tried in Pennsylvania by Germans competent to its proper culture, but without success. But surely many parts of the southern States must be adapted to it both as it respects soil and climate: yet France and Madeira supply the whole country with wine. The olive would I apprehend flourish equally with the vine. I should suppose that the coffee tree would thrive in the southern parts of East Florida, and that the tea tree would grow in any of those parts which are south of thirty-five degrees of latitude. And why should it be necessary for them to resort to the Levant for a supply of currants and figs? There cannot be a doubt I think, that

some important changes in these respects will ere long take place; changes which may be beneficial to England as well as America, for the greater the intercourse between the two countries, the better it will I trust be for both. It would in particular be advantageous to England to be able to obtain a supply of tea from America, the trade with China, owing to the restrictions of the imperial government, being less profitable than that with countries adopting a liberal policy.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FINE ARTS.

The reader may smile at the mention of the fine arts in America; yet I cannot properly pass them over without a slight notice. The Americans hitherto have had so much to do in necessary works, that they have had but little leisure to attend to the merely ornamental. They have had so many roads to form, so many bridges to build, so much land to clear, that it would have been wonderful indeed, if they had become eminent as sculptors and painters. I have not heard of a single American sculptor, but West long since became famous as a painter, and within these few years several American artists have delighted Europe. The most remarkable thing connected with them is, that their own country offers so little encouragement to them, that nearly all of them are obliged to settle in a foreign land. When I was at New York, endeavours were used to persuade persons to purchase tickets, to view a painting which was then exhibiting for the benefit of the artist, that a sufficient sum might be raised to enable him to pro-

ceed to England. So little do the Americans encourage their native artists, that it is a rare thing to see even a portrait in a private house; and their public edifices have few of any kind. The Capitols of Virginia and Pennsylvania are almost destitute of them: that of New York has a full length portrait of Washington, and of several of the State governors: that of the United States has two historical paintings of very interesting subjects, one being the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the other the final surrender of the British troops to the American, by which the revolutionary war was terminated. I must say however, that these two paintings appeared to me to be too much of daubs to be placed in the Capitol. The painting exhibited at New York was of St. Paul preaching at Athens. The execution, so far as I could judge, was, with one or two defects, such as would reflect credit on painters of more practice than the young man whose performance it was. But the design, exemplified a remark made by Dr. Adam Clarke, in one of his notes on the Bible, that painters are bad commentators. To produce effect, they depart from probability. In this painting, as in almost all those taken from scripture, figures are introduced in situations quite unnatural. The same fault is particularly con-

spicuous in West's painting of Christ Rejected, where a woman is lying on the cross in a way very unlikely to have been the case. Who amongst painters except Teniers, deserves the character of being a follower of nature? In several of the museums are some paintings creditable to the country.

The museums themselves may properly be here noticed. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Richmond, are museums of curiosities natural and artificial. Peele's Museum in Philadelphia is considered the best in the United States. It has treasures, of use to the geologist, the ornithologist, the zoographer and the antiquarian. To compare it with the British Museum in London, or that in the Garden of Plants in Paris, would be unfair, yet it may be believed, that few cities of the same magnitude in either England or France can show one superior. Some great additions are however requisite in the departments of entomology and mineralogy.

The only public exhibition of a collection of paintings by living artists that I saw or heard of, was that of the Academy of Arts of Philadelphia. It appeared to me to be a very creditable

exhibition. The number of pictures was about the same as that in the annual exhibition at Norwich, and the talent displayed also much on a par. Philadelphia however, be it observed, contains a population more than double that of Norwich, and is the metropolis of a State as large as England, whereas Norwich, though the capital of a county, is a city of only third rate importance. This is not mentioned with any invidious feeling, but with a view of giving a just idea of the progress of the fine arts in America.

I have mentioned that in several of the cities ornamental architecture has been in requisition to embellish the public buildings. I have little to add on this subject; yet it is right to state, that in some of the rising villages and small towns, a similar attention to beauty is apparent. In the western parts of New York in particular, I was much struck with the elegance of some of the church spires.

The University of Virginia at Charlottesville is a large building, in which the architect has properly displayed all the different orders. Perhaps it may be called a beautiful building, though I cannot think that its construction is such as to manifest good taste. It has five divisions united

by colonnades, each of which divisions separately viewed seems elegant and complete; but there being no symmetry observed in their combination, the general effect is displeasing. Except when viewed from a distance, it appears too much like a number of distinct buildings; a fault which I regard as capital, since whatever can be taken in at one glance should have uniformity and completeness. The plan of a city should be diversified; that of a large edifice correspondent in the parts.

The room in which the House of Representatives assemble in the Capitol of Washington is one of the finest rooms in the world. This may be thought a strong expression, but I believe that all who have entered it will concur in its justice. It is semicircular; and the speaker's chair being placed in the centre of the diametrical line, the members are ranged in semicircles round him. The roof is supported by marble pillars, crimson curtains hanging in festoons being between them. Over the speaker's chair is a gigantic female figure, which is I believe intended to be emblematical of America. The floor being carpeted, nothing seems wanting to the comfort and convenience of the members, or to the elegant finish of the room. It has however one most unfortu-

nate defect. The voice of the orator who is addressing the house is often lost in reverberation. No corrective has hitherto been found for this defect. I have seen rooms larger and more splendid than this ; but I never saw one which seemed more completely to unite beauty and grandeur with utility.

We are indebted to America for great improvements in engraving, and particularly for the application of steel to that beautiful art ; yet the number of prints executed in the country is comparatively few. Those which are inserted in the editions of English books republished in New York, Philadelphia and Boston are commonly of very contemptible execution. I was shown however one or two works to which I could not refuse my praise, they being such as would have done honour to any artist. Lithography has been but recently introduced.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MORALS.

A PERSON who after travelling in New England makes his way into Maryland and Virginia, may soon perceive that he is in a district less moral in several particulars than that he has left. How much of this difference is attributable to slavery, I shall not now enquire; but the fact should be remembered. The New Englanders, though very circumspect in their general deportment, are taxed by their southern neighbours with duplicity manifesting itself in low cunning. There may perhaps be good ground for a partial charge of this nature, but I am of opinion that the natives of the southern States, instead of railing against the ambidextrous New Englanders, ought rather to charge themselves with a want of perspicacity, since if they are often duped, the fault is mainly their own. The cause of those of the south entertaining a bad opinion of their northern neighbours, is, that nearly all the pedlers amongst them are from New England; and pedlers being men who in all countries thrive by meanness and trickery, they have been the means

of raising suspicions respecting the character of the natives of New England generally. As far as my observations went, the people of the north taken collectively may vie with those of the other districts; for if it be admitted that they have amongst them a more than medium portion of persons prone to base artifice, the people of the midland and southern States, may be accused of drunkenness and some other vices to an extent beyond that perceptible in New England.

Drunkenness has been said to be the great vice of the Americans. It must however be confined very much to the labouring classes. The upper class appeared to me to be very temperate, the middle bibacious more than health requires, and the lower only, justly chargeable with ebriety. As a people, the Americans are certainly not so sober as the French or Germans, but perhaps are about on a level with the Irish. However a tradesman at Georgetown, who was I believe a druggist though styled a doctor, a man of intelligence and respectability, assured me that it had been ascertained past doubt, that in the District of Columbia there are more pints of whiskey consumed than pounds of flour! If this be the fact, and he told me that I might rely on it, it implies a still lower state of mora-

lity in this particular than I have assigned to them.

Profanity of language prevails to a most shocking extent in all parts. As I was walking in Providence, my attention was arrested by the horrid expressions used by the children at play in the streets. They were as voluble in oaths and curses as hoary sinners; a lamentable degradation, for not correcting which I must think the schoolmasters and clergy are to be blamed. The educated in many places seem as prone to profanity as the ignorant. The Americans want some man amongst them with the energy and zeal of Whitfield, whose abhorrence of such language was so great, that he once, it is said, began a sermon by uttering imprecations on the congregation to convince them of its offensive and impious nature, and then changing his tone after the manner of Sterne's sermon on the house of mourning, thundered denunciations on those who were guilty of it.

I have been surprised to find in some of the publications respecting America, a charge, or at least an insinuation, that honesty is a virtue so little respected amongst the natives, that few of them, even of the upper rank, were to be impli-

citly confided in. How this unworthy idea originated I cannot say; but it appeared to me not substantiated by any thing I saw or heard. The facility of obtaining a livelihood by honest industry is so great, that temptations to petty thefts are not so strong as in countries more populous; and I saw no reason to believe that the rich are more suspicious of their poor neighbours than the people of England, though I must confess that I believe the American poor are not so generally clear of an addiction to pilfering as the French. On the other hand, candour requires me to state, that during my abode in the country, I never, whether in public or private houses, was in the habit of fastening my bed room door, having no fear of losing any thing. The upper class seemed to have that frank confidence in each other, which is the best proof of general good character. The great hospitality which they so often manifest to entire strangers, is another proof corroborative of it, since they must become suspicious, if their kindness were often infringed on by unprincipled men.

Amongst the upper class however, gambling is very prevalent, more especially amongst those of the southern States. The same may be said of duelling, which has unfortunately been in fa-

shion to a much greater degree than in any country in Europe. That so disgraceful a remnant of semi-barbarity should be continued amongst civilized men, may justly excite our wonder and pity. I know indeed, that some persons think that the practice may as well be continued, as it occasionally rids society of a few, whose fiery spirits not being under the restraint of reason, are as well removed. Yet surely when we consider how much distress it occasions in families, and how greatly it tends to prevent an amicable adjustment of differences, it is better to convince men of its uselessness, impolicy and wickedness, than to attempt to uphold it on some supposed grounds of its benefit to society. If a man receives a real injury from his neighbour, the laws are competent to his redress, or at least, are more competent to it than duelling. If he subjects himself to an insult for which no legal remedy is obtainable, it is better, in spite of what is urged to the contrary by men of pretended acute honour, for him to submit to it, and trust to his general past and future conduct as a security for the approbation of his associates, rather than to hazard his life and that of a fellow being. Nor would such tame, inglorious submission be detrimental to the best interests of society. A spirit would be manifested in favour of an aggriev-

ed individual, far more valuable than that arising from the partial approbation bestowed for the maintenance of honour by outrageous means. When nations become completely civilized duelling must cease. Law can never tolerate it, and that civilization is incomplete where law is not paramount. As to the notion of obtaining satisfaction for an insult, by the party's meeting me with a loaded pistol, what sort of satisfaction is that? If I kill my opponent, surely I must be a savage indeed to find satisfaction in having committed murder. If he kills me, is it, or can it be, a satisfaction to my friends to hear of my death? Duelling was instituted at a time when the principles of morals being imperfectly understood, false notions of right and wrong had possession of the public mind; and it has been continued by fashion, whose influence is so predominant that few minds have been sufficiently strong to resist and despise it. However much Europe may be indebted to Charles V. and Francis I., it cannot be forgotten that it was to their example, that duelling became so extensive and general. Happy will it be for mankind, when we can truly say in the words of Burke, that "the age of chivalry is gone;" for notwithstanding its beautiful appearance, it was unfit for cultivated man, however adapted in several respects

to inspire generous sentiments in the breasts of rude warriors. Man is said to be as naturally pugnacious as he is selfish. It is the province of civilization to correct the waywardness of nature, and make it submissive to the common interest, as the skilful gardener renders wild and sour fruit trees capable of bearing fruit delicious to the palate. The American philosophers and legislators ought to endeavour to mould the dispositions of their countrymen into the pliability requisite in an enlightened age; then will the nation become more and more a pattern to the rest of the world. Duelling though not so atrocious as assassination is nearly allied to it. Unhappily the Americans are as addicted to the one as the Spaniards to the other. I am glad to learn that the Assembly of South Carolina has recently taken the subject into its consideration with a view to enact measures to produce the total extinction of it.

Female prostitution is I believe less general in America than in most European countries. Scotland and Wales are probably the only two that may be said to be as free from it as America. The coloured girls in the southern States are however to be excepted from the general moral character of the sex throughout the country,

the reason for which is, that they are not taught to respect themselves and value modesty. The white women of respectability take care to influence by their example and instructions those of their own colour, but seem very regardless of bringing to a proper sense of the value of reputation, those whose complexion is less fair than their own. This inattention on their part, is the cause of the seduction of a coloured girl being passed by as a harmless thing, while that of a white girl is regarded as a very heinous crime. A tradesman at Fredericsburg told me, that the seduction of a coloured girl was the almost invariable result of her settling in that town. A mulatto at Petersburg, by trade a barber, replied to my enquiry why he did not marry, that no white woman would consent to receive his addresses, and that amongst those of his own colour, there were only three in the town whose chastity was unimpeached. When making enquiry respecting the state of morals at Norfolk, I received an account nearly as bad. In the northern States on the contrary, the seduction of a coloured girl is as rare as that of a white, and prostitution in general is less conspicuous than in some parts of Maryland and Virginia.

Crimes of great magnitude, such as murder,

burglary and the like, are I believe as little to be dreaded by the peaceable inhabitants, as in most other countries. I take a pleasure in stating this, as from the accounts published by some of our countrymen, it might be inferred that America is the land of lawless rapine. During my whole journey, I heard of no alarming outrages except by some incendiaries in Philadelphia. The inhabitants in general seemed to be as little afraid of aggression, as were the people of the poetical Golden Age.

CHAPTER XXXII.

NATIONAL CHARACTER.

From the antecedent chapters of this work, a tolerably correct estimate of the national character of the Americans, may I believe be formed. But as some advantage may arise from a concentrated view, and as some traits have not yet been alluded to, I shall endeavour in this chapter to give such a sketch as may correspond with the plan hitherto adopted. I am very sensible of the mistakes into which writers prone to generalization are apt to fall; but as my opportunities of forming a right judgment were as considerable as could reasonably be expected in the time I had, and as candour will guide my pen, I trust that I shall be found in general to be correct. The repetition of a few particulars, will, under this consideration, be excused by the reader who has had the patience to accompany me regularly thus far. I must premise that considerable diversity prevails in the different districts of the country. Yet as the general outline is sufficiently correspondent to enable something of a common character to be applicable to them all, I do not

think that much inconvenience will arise from placing them in one group. It is however absolutely necessary to keep the blacks distinct from the whites, as the two races are not at present so incorporated as to be one people. In the first place therefore, let me attempt to describe the blacks.

Being chiefly in menial situations, and in all parts ranked below the whites, the blacks have had little opportunity of becoming polished and educated; and taking every thing into account connected with their comparative disadvantages, I think we ought rather to wonder that their character is so fair as it is, than that it is no better. So long as men are excluded from the society of those more refined and better informed than themselves, they cannot be expected to advance otherwise than slowly in the improvement of their minds and manners. In mental cultivation the blacks are particularly deficient. Of the thousands amongst them who possess a nominal freedom, I question whether there are half a dozen who have had a liberal, classical education. I heard of only two who had been so fortunate, to neither of whom did I chance to get introduced. Several of those however with whom I conversed showed themselves equal to the whites in a simi-

lar station, and two or three I thought rather superior. One man in particular who told me that he was born a slave, showed a degree of good sense and reason very pleasing. In their morals, they are nearly on a level with the whites, except the female coloured girls in the southern States who have certainly more lubricity than the white girls. As far as regularity in the attendance of public worship is a proof of being religious, the coloured people may safely be compared with the rest of the community, and pronounced as religious as any.

In the slave States they are very obsequious in their behaviour, scarcely daring to pass a white man on the road without making some token indicative of his superiority. I do not now allude to the slaves, but to those who have obtained their freedom, for the slaves seem to be as much afraid of their masters as Caliban of Prospero, and are treated in their turn as contemptuously as Shakspeare describes that hag-begotten monster to have been, with the exception however of such of them as are retained as domestic servants. In the free States, the blacks assume a freer deportment, and which to whites who travel from the south to the north is very annoying. I heard some persons from New Orleans complain loudly

of the insolence of the blacks of New York, in presuming to take the wall in walking the streets, instead of always yielding it to the whites. But as to any real insolence, I must say that I noticed as little of it in them as in the whites of the working class. Amongst the blacks of the better sort, I met several whose behaviour was entitled to a higher epithet than civil; it was, though not very polished, decorous and respectfully attentive. Having a desire to attend a sitting of the Conference of the Methodist church of the coloured people, I waited on the chairman, and requested as a favour that I might be allowed to enter the room. They usually sit with closed doors; but my request was complied with. On entering, I was invited to take a seat near the chairman. I did so, and both then and at other times when I conversed with him, I found that he could demean himself in a very agreeable manner. A minister amongst the Baptists, with whom I held a lengthened conversation, seemed also to be of pleasing manners. And I saw a man at Alexandria in the District of Columbia, who had as captivating behaviour as I have often seen. I believe I may say that I was more struck with his elegance, than with that of any white in the town, though I was at the houses of some of the more wealthy inhabitants.

It is said of the blacks by their white brethren, that they are incapable of that elevation of soul, that lofty enthusiasm, without which men cannot be ranked high in the scale of existence. It is certain that but few indications of such a spirit have yet manifested themselves amongst them: but are we thence to infer that they are incapable of it? The contumely with which they have been regarded, the want of stimulus arising from their possessing no prospect of sharing in the honours of high offices, their exclusion from the family circles of the whites; these circumstances sufficiently account for their depression, especially when weighed in connexion with their imperfect education. But it would be unfair to suppose that under more favourable circumstances, the development of their faculties would never be accompanied by a correspondent elevation of soul. I have read several accounts of the behaviour of negroes in times of trial and at the hour of death, fully proving that they were sustained by the loftiness of their feelings. An instance was also mentioned to me by a gentleman of Charleston, into whose company I fell when in Long Island. He told me that amongst the negroes condemned to death for the projected insurrection in that city, there was one whom he had bought many years before from an African

slave ship, but whom he had sold to another man. This negro prior to his execution, was visited in prison by his master, who desired him to mention how he could think of joining in a plot which might have proved fatal to a master who had used him kindly, and in particular to state what induced him to join in it at all, since his situation was an easy one. The negro looking firmly at him, made this energetic reply: "you were my master, and I wished for liberty". He was then requested to communicate all that he knew of the ramifications of the plot, but he refused to give any particulars, and turning to his fellow prisoners said, "Tell them nothing. Die as you will see me die, with firmness, and without letting them know any thing about it". He continued unwavering to the last. This man's conduct, if he had been a Greek condemned to death by Turks, would have been lauded as heroic; but because he was a negro condemned to death by Americans, he must forsooth be branded as obstinate and cruel! From this relation, and from others of a similar nature, as well as from the numerous cases I heard of noble conduct in other negroes under very different circumstances, I conclude that they only require to have justice rendered them, to become ornamental as well as useful to their country. If

a native born African who had been subjected to American slavery, could manifest the spirit of an old Roman when in the prospect of immediate death, surely it would be illogical to conclude, that persons from the same stock, natives of America, and possessing the rights and intelligence of freemen, are physically incapable of rising to an equality with the descendants of Europeans; to whom in the remaining remarks on the national character I shall confine myself exclusively.

The first distinguishing trait that I shall notice is that of sociability, a trait which fails not at once to strike an Englishman, from its being so different to that reserved air which is said to be gentilitious to England. A person when travelling in America, may at once begin to converse with his fellow passengers without fear of offending by the familiarity. If his address be mild and respectful, he will find no cold repulse, no haughtiness to bid him stand aloof; and if he continue to demean himself properly, he will be treated as a brother. The Americans, aware that in this respect they differ from the English, attribute the difference to their republican institutions. I rather suppose that the necessity of mutual kindness, which must have been felt by the

primitive colonists, was the origin of this agreeable trait in their character. When once established, it was not likely to become extinct, so long as no great inequality of wealth prevailed in the country. Whatever influence therefore, republicanism may have had in preserving equality amongst them, I cannot admit it to be the proximate cause of their sociability. How indeed should it be, when the French under a monarchy have nearly as much of it, and have been celebrated for centuries on that very account? The want of sociability in England is ascribed by Goldsmith to the political freedom enjoyed by the inhabitants, a deduction at variance with that of the Americans. After describing the blessings resulting from freedom, he thus proceeds:

" Thine, freedom, thine, the blessings pictured here,
Thine are those charms that dazzle and endear;
Too blest indeed, were such without alloy,
But fostered e'en by freedom ills annoy;
That independence Britons prize too high,
Keeps man from man, and breaks the social tie;
The self-dependent lordlings stand alone,
All claims that bind and sweeten life unknown;
Here by the bonds of nature feebly held,
Minds combat minds, repelling and repelled:
Ferments arise, imprisoned factions roar,
Repressed ambition struggles round her shore,

Till over-wrought, the general system feels
Its motion stop, or phrensy fire the wheels."

I certainly think that Goldsmith in this passage is rather more poetical than philosophical, yet I shall not now stop to attempt to give a solution of a more probable nature; but as the difference in sociability between the two countries is very considerable, I shall be excused for dwelling on the subject a little longer.

"The English gentry when travelling by the public vehicles, too often assume an air of distance to their fellow passengers, and rarely indeed adopt a pleasant familiarity with those who appear to be much below them in rank. I was once in a steam-boat on the Thames when there was a large number of passengers, the Vice-chancellor being one; yet with the exception of one who was his companion, and another who had some acquaintance with him, he did not deign to converse with any of us, though some of the passengers appeared very genteel, and had their carriages on deck. As the Vice-chancellor rose from a low station in life, he might think that if he adopted a familiar deportment, some would be ungracious enough not to show him that respect which is due to the occupant of his office;

but a better apology may be found for him, by considering that he was not deviating from the general habits of the country. Yet familiarity in mixed society when it does not descend to buffoonery, but is supported by becoming self-respect, is not the cause of contemptuous or disrespectful behaviour on the part of others, as I saw abundantly in America. The Chief Justice of the United States was on board a steam boat in James river in Virginia when I was there, and manifested that easy familiarity which gave facility to intercourse with him, with that attention to decorum which prevented any, if so disposed, from unduly encroaching on his good nature. More attention was shown to him than to any other person on board.

When a man stands aloof from his fellow men, he loses the opportunity of diffusing benevolent and joyous feelings, and so contributing to the general happiness, besides the chance of rectifying either his own opinions or those of others. I was witness to the advantages conferred by American sociability, in the latter particular, when in the public room of a tavern in one of the villages in the midland part of New York. It occurred in a conversation between a judge of one of the county courts and a man whom I supposed to

be a petty trader. This man seemed to think that political liberty should be unbounded. The judge explained to him the distinction between liberty in the state of nature and that in the social compact, endeavouring to convince him of the benefits gained by the limitations imposed by law and government. I could not help thinking, as I listened to this conversation, that the advantages of such a free interchange of sentiments between persons of different ranks, and between the learned and the ignorant, must be great to any community. Where the ingredients of society are kept as distinct as heterogeous bodies, there can never be that cordial sympathy which is the best bond of union.

It may be inferred from what I have stated, that pride is scarcely an ingredient in the American character: I believe that scarcely any vice is more alien. There is notwithstanding, a kindred feeling prevalent amongst the natives of the southern States. I allude to that irritability which they manifest at any supposed imputative expression, and which so often leads them into the diabolical practice of duelling. This fault originates, as I suppose, in their being accustomed from early life to domineer over the slaves, thus acquiring notions of superiority, which are pro-

ductive of an impatience at a supposed slight, or mark of contempt, beyond what is ordinarily displayed by the natives of the free States. The strongest instance of this irritable disposition that came under my notice, was in the President's private secretary, with whom I had considerable conversation. Some casual expressions of mine which were perfectly unexceptionable, and which a New Englander would not have suffered to discompose him for a moment, instantly excited the wrath of this Virginian to such a degree, that I could scarcely refrain from laughing. I witnessed several similar proofs of the proneness of the natives of the southern States to give way to irascible feelings, yet they were quite as sociable in their general deportment as their northern neighbours. The delightful quality of sociability belongs to them all, producing a harmony as beneficial to society at large, as a reciprocity of affection between parents and children to a private family.

Much however as I admire the sociability of the Americans, and their freedom from that haughtiness which is too perceptible in England, I cannot approve of their want of dignity in the discharge of their public duties. There is no reason to suppose that familiarity in private and

dignity in public are incompatible qualities; but it is evident that very few amongst the Americans unite the two. In the courts of justice for example, where, if any where, dignity ought to be preserved, the want of it is often conspicuous. Counsellors examine and cross-examine witnesses without rising from their seats, and even while lounging as if they were at a public tavern. I noticed a counsellor in the court room of the City Hall in New York, sitting on a chair which he balanced on its hind legs in the true style of independence, while he was engaged in a cross-examination. Where so little respect is shown to the judge as is implied by this behaviour, we must not expect to find in all cases, that dignity on the bench which so much tends to render justice respectable and respected. The judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts was particularly deficient in this respect, though it is a point to which the members of the judiciary ought to be particularly attentive, as with the exception of the Supreme Court of the United States, and as I was told, the Courts in South Carolina, no forensic habiliments are used by them. The proceedings of the courts and of all public bodies are indeed generally very orderly; but the only really dignified bodies that I saw, were the Senate of Congress, and the Su-

preme Court of the United States. One of the judges of the Court however, degraded the dignity of his station during the time I was in America, by maintaining a controversy in the newspapers on some parts of his own conduct. In one of his letters he expressed himself in an unguarded manner quite derogatory to a judicial character, and concluded by informing his opponent, that he had instituted legal proceedings against him. It is passing strange, that a judge who thought fit to appeal to the law in vindication of himself from a criminatory charge, should so far forget himself as to become a newspaper disputant. It is a proof of that general want of dignity which I have been stating as so apparent. The House of Representatives is superior to the House of Commons in several respects, but it is, like that body, not sufficiently dignified on ordinary occasions. The most unpleasant proof however, of this want of dignity, was exhibited in the deportment of the persons in whose company I visited the Philadelphian Jail, they suffering the prisoners to address them with as much familiarity as if they were not convicts. This was carrying good nature beyond the bounds of propriety, as a prison should be a place where the shame of degradation may be felt, lest its terrors should lose their

force. Neither republicanism nor common sense can justify the making of prisoners as independent in their behaviour as those who stand unconvicted.

The hospitality of the Americans is not shown in a cold or niggardly manner, but in so gratifying a way that an Englishman might almost forget his absence from his native land, if the extraordinary kindness did not remind him, that it is more pleasing than his vernacular hospitality.

If the poorer class in America are less polished than the same class in France and some other countries, they are at least generally civil when civilly treated. The educated class have so much politeness diffused among them, that I believe few countries, if any, can exhibit a fairer portion of persons of agreeable manners. They have not, it is true, much of that suppleness and constant profession of good offices, which Chesterfield and his disciples make an indispensable requisite in politeness; but in that which is the real essence of politeness, namely, the disposition which seeks not simply to avoid what is disagreeable to others, but to captivate them by suavity, and by attention to their wishes, I think

they may challenge comparison with any country in Europe. Their introductory address seldom raises expectation high, being rather too indifferent, but their subsequent behaviour raises esteem and affection. The feeling produced on the mind is analogous to that on the body occasioned by immersion in a cold spring bath, first causing a chill and then a glow. Still it would be wrong to conceal that apathy is a striking constituent, not only in their behaviour but in their feelings. No ebullition takes place in their public meetings; no hurrying, enthusiastic congratulations in their private ones. I should be inclined to ascribe their calmness to a sense of decorum and good breeding, were it not that their general deportment evinces that they practise very little reserve. As far as they really feel, they plainly testify. They resemble the lion in not being easily pleased or provoked, but showing strongly gratitude or anger when once the feelings are effectually roused. This character however, applies principally to the natives of the midland and northern States, those of the southern being less phlegmatic. A New York citizen who was a fellow passenger with me to America, gave during the voyage such a proof of phlegm, as appeared to me most extraordinary. During a tempest one night, there was so ter-

rific a crash, that he supposed, as he told me the following morning, that the mainmast had gone overboard. I asked him how under such an impression he could possibly keep in his birth; to which he answered, that he thought that if he must perish, it was best for him to be ignorant of the exact time of his approaching death, as he should then die as easily as if he were falling asleep. If a Marylander or a Virginian did not wish to be cognitive of this particular, he would at any rate be willing to see if there were no possibility of preserving life. I do not mean to imply by this anecdote, that indifference to the extent stated is at all common. I only instance it as one amongst many proofs of the general apathy.

Their patriotism is warm, but not properly moderated by reflection. Their national vanity is ridiculous, and gives birth to a self-sufficiency which is sometimes unpleasing. They think themselves as a people qualified for every thing, and inferior to no other nation either in the arts of war or peace. Such of them as have seen other countries will subtract a little from the current opinions, but they are liable to be condemned in consequence as unpatriotic.

Another disagreeable and indeed bad trait in

their character, is their jealousy of resident foreigners. Nothing can be kinder than their treatment of foreign travellers; but let a foreigner settle permanently amongst them and become prosperous, and he is then to be marked out for suspicion and almost hatred. I heard so many complaints of this kind from foreigners of respectability in the principal cities, that I was compelled to give credence to them.

In their political opinions they are too bigoted; and in general in whatever concerns their country, they are not sufficiently tolerant of the dissentient opinions of foreigners. I asked a Portuguese whom I met in New York, who had been nine months resident in the United States, and who, prior to his settlement in the country, had resided for three years in England, if he noticed any particular difference between the two countries. He said that he found one remarkable difference; that whereas he could say almost any thing in England, in the language of censure of what he did not like, without giving offence by so doing, in America if he used the same liberty, he was condemned for his illiberality, and sometimes almost quarrelled with. During the late war between the two countries, the restraints imposed on naturalized Englishmen, were

similar to those established in France amongst the natives by the jealous tyranny of Napoleon; that being effected in America by the intolerance of the people, which was done in France by the system of government.

Here it is proper to notice as an exemplification of this intolerant disposition, as well as of the self-sufficiency and vanity of the people, that I was several times taxed with mistatement, and censured for manifesting a willingness to decry America, by mentioning that the events of the war excited comparatively little interest in England. The Americans were so inflated with their successes by sea and land, that they supposed that other nations thought as much of their bravery as they themselves. Hence the person who ventures to insinuate that the war was contemplated in Europe with unusual indifference, is to be almost hooted from company as unpolite. When I was at Harrisburg, the late war became a topic of conversation one day after dinner at the tavern where I stopped. How I might have fared on this occasion amongst the Pennsylvanian members of Assembly I cannot tell, except that from my experience of their gentlemanly behaviour, I am aware that they would have been moderate; but it so happened, that after I had

surprised them by letting them know, that thousands of persons in England had scarcely ever heard of the war, or if they had, had forgotten it, a gentleman present who was one of their own body, told them that he could confirm my remark by what he himself had witnessed in England at the time. Few persons, he said, seemed to trouble themselves about it, and except amongst merchants whose interests were immediately affected, he seldom heard it mentioned. This account settled the matter, and the subject dropped. But for the information of such of my countrymen as may hereafter visit America, I will just add, that it may be expedient for them to acquaint themselves with the leading events of the war, lest they should expose their ignorance and subject themselves in consequence to pity or contempt. I at first found my ignorance very inconvenient; for when I was asked my opinion of this or that engagement, I was often obliged to confess that I was ignorant of its result, and thus lose the benefit of the conversation. After I had been a few weeks in the country, I read a history of the war in order to enable myself to meet the remarks of the natives; for though my previous studies had in degree qualified me to travel amongst them with advantage, I was sadly deficient in information relative to the war.

The defeat of the English troops at New Orleans was as much unknown to me, to my shame be it spoken, as if it had never occurred. Since my return, I have found scholars and politicians as ignorant as myself. The Americans, who seem to believe that the fame of their achievements is commensurate to that of the knowledge of their name, may think that I am actuated by unworthy motives in thus writing. Let the general scope of my book be my defence.

As it respects morals, they are, when compared with other countries, entitled to rank high, for though some vices are more prevalent with them than with Europeans in general, yet I believe few countries or provinces in Europe, have a loftier sense of morality diffused amongst the women of the most influence. This moral feeling is confirmed by the general respect in which religion is held by the people at large. The religion itself is often blended with fanaticism; but I have yet to learn that fanaticism, injurious as it is, is worse than superstition, from which they are freer than perhaps any other people. To prevent any mistake on this point, I shall add, that I regard fanaticism as the result of religious zeal operating on a mind imperfectly enlightened, but of warm imagination; and superstition,

as the adherence to a belief in something contrary to nature and experience, without courage to examine its reasonableness, or resolution to renounce it when its folly is manifest. Fanaticism leads into many extravagances as well as superstition, and may sometimes give birth to it, but it seldom keeps the mind in a complete state of stagnation; whereas superstition when standing alone, benumbs the mental faculties, and thwarts the spread of light and knowledge.

The Americans, so far from yielding to superstition and ignorance, are generally emulous of other nations in all that relates to the instruction of the poor in useful knowledge. Indeed they excel most except the Scotch, as I found that geography and some of the higher branches of arithmetic were taught in the Lancastrian schools; an example that ought to be followed in all the similar establishments in England; but which alas! such is the narrow mindedness of many of the established clergy, is far from being the case; they being apparently as fearful of the labouring poor becoming well informed, as the Catholics of the circulation of the Bible. The Americans from their more liberal policy are becoming increasingly an intelligent people. Though less of academic learn-

ing is diffused among the upper class than is the case in some other countries, they have a number of men whose literary reputation is deservedly high, and some whose attainments would be sufficient to ensure them distinction in any part of the civilized world. In mechanical genius they are probably equal to any other people, and superior to most.

Notwithstanding their intelligence they excel not in conversation, though they are remarkably domestic; but then their conversation is so decorous and refined, that its deficiency in other respects is the more excusable. Concerning one colloquial fault with which they have often been accused, namely, that of impertinent inquisitiveness, I have to remark, that it applies principally and almost entirely to the lower and middling classes in remote situations and small villages. I met with only two persons of the upper class whose enquiries respecting myself were troublesome or offensive, and one of these was a person whom I judged to have mixed very little in society. I met him at a tavern at Schenectady; and to show how much his inquisitiveness was disapproved by others, I must add, that as soon as he had left the room, another gentleman, who was the surveyor I mentioned in a former chap-

ter, apologised for his rudeness, and hoped I should not judge of the citizens generally by him; a remark elicited from my having stated that I had been a short time only in the country. Small farmers, traders and mechanics in remote situations, are sometimes of exceedingly prying dispositions. I used on some occasions to make evasive answers, to testify my dislike at being subjected to a long concatenation of queries relative to private matters; but I found it generally best to satisfy them to a reasonable extent. But though I acquit the Americans generally of unpleasant inquisitiveness, I am aware that they are very fond of learning particulars respecting the private affairs of those with whom they come in contact. Their sense of politeness induces them to abstain from direct enquiries of a party, but they nevertheless feel all the curiosity of the inquisitive, and are eager to obtain incidental information to satisfy their craving appetite. Remaining for several days at Norfolk, there was considerable enquiry in the town about me. My landlady told me that numbers wished to know who I was, and where I came from. This was also the case at Fredericsburg, as I learnt from a person who was quartered at the tavern where I was, several persons having asked him if he knew what State I was from, and

what business brought me to the town. I suppose that this prying disposition may be attributed to a want of taste for literature and the fine arts; for the mind having few things of deep interest to fix on, small talk is resorted to as a succedaneum.

Besides a want of taste for literature and the fine arts, a want of it is obvious in various other particulars. There are unquestionably some individuals of refined taste, but I believe that their number is very limited. The want of taste is often conspicuous in first rate houses, in which we sometimes see splendid furniture, while the glass in the windows is so green and rough as to occasion an unpleasant discrepancy. The very few ornamental gardens is another proof of this want of taste, which becomes still more apparent from the circumstance of landscape gardening being totally unknown. Is not the extravagant praise lavished on the beauty of Philadelphia another proof? I think it is, especially when we consider that nearly all the rising towns are on the same plan, and that the additions hereafter to be made to New York and Baltimore are to be correspondent. If a proper taste were infused into the people, they would not all adopt one model, since whatever beauty there may be

in it, others may surely be designed which shall also be pleasing to a critical eye, as fruits of different flavour are grateful to the palate. Washington was planned by a Frenchman ; a circumstance favourable to the beauty of that city, as he took care to have the quadrangles broken by a few diagonal streets. The genius of an American would not have carried his ideas beyond right angles. If no deviation be made in the plan of the new cities, America will become in the course of time, as formal and uninteresting a country, in whatever relates not to natural scenery, as the fancy of an old Dutchman could make it. One thing in New York which not a little tickled me, I must not leave unnoticed. The emblem of justice on the City Hall is a figure of Astræa with a steel-yard in her hand! The change from the balances to the steel-yard is about as consonant to propriety, as would be the placing of a full-bottomed wig on the head of a statue of Apollo. There are other things also indicative of a want of taste. In the arrangement of the dishes on table, I was often struck with it, not that I think it necessary for the Americans to conform to the French, English, or any other national standard, taste being influenced by extraneous circumstances, and being after all very

arbitrary; but because when dishes which cannot be taken together, are placed side by side, the incongruity is apparent to all. But though a want of taste is conspicuous in so many particulars, and which are quite enough to satisfy me as to the general state of the country in that respect, the opposite side of the case must not be lost sight of. In dress, probably no women in the world are more really tasteful than the American. Without tawdriness they are gay; without formality they are neat. Their agreeable manners seem to be much regulated by taste, every thing approaching to grossness or rudeness being avoided. Hence it is, that though they are very generally deficient in dental and complexional beauty, they are so fascinating as to be admired by all foreigners. The men, engaged as most of them are in the active pursuits of life, have less taste than the other sex; yet such of them as devote themselves to literary pursuits manifest no small portion of it, as is evident in their principal literary periodical, in which numerous articles have appeared written with a chastity and polish worthy the best periods of English literature. From this it must not be understood however, that a taste for literature is extensively diffused, but that those

who cultivate literature, have refined their taste to a degree at least equal to the correspondent class in other countries.

III

Allied to the general want of taste is the want of exactness in the domestic and other common transactions of life. In walking through a city at noon-day, I have often noticed numbers of the window-shutters left unfastened, and other matters of a similar kind, as if they thought with Helvetius, that an attention to little things implied an ignorance of important ones, an opinion which that philosopher would not have promulged if he had had a proper acquaintance with human nature; for who knows not that the uneducated are generally the most careless? This want of exactness is obvious in the department of female servants, whom I have seen, when not actually engaged in waiting on the company, leaning on their elbows near the door or window. Now it is evident that their mistresses would teach them to adopt a more becoming attitude, if they themselves did not share in the prevalent carelessness. I am inclined to ascribe the custom of female servants not wearing caps to the same disposition. What can be said in excuse for their mistresses, who might surely persuade them to adopt a dress less disgusting

than that of heads of hair loose and dirty like mops? After they have finished their work, they are it is true sufficiently neat; but how is it possible for them to keep their hair in order without caps when engaged in it? I suppose however, that such an attempt at innovation, would be viewed as an encroachment on that natural liberty, respecting which they are so sensitive as to refuse in many cases to acknowledge themselves servants, thinking that appellation to be fit only for negroes.

The celebration of the anniversary of the Independence is general throughout the country. I witnessed it at New York, and as illustrative of the national character, especially in the point under consideration, I shall give some particulars of it. On the preceding evening, booths were erected in Broadway and round the City Hall, where whiskey and other stimulants were vended to the populace. The following morning, the militia paraded through the streets, forming with the firemen, carmen and others of like occupations a motley group, reminding one of a harlequin's jacket. The dress of the soldiers, though military, was not uniform. Some had white cravats, some black, some none at all; some were in boots, some in shoes. As the pro-

cession moved along, I looked to see in what manner popular enthusiasm would show itself. So little of it however was apparent, that a spectator might almost have fancied, that the gazing crowds were viewing a funeral rather than a triumphal procession. The troops were marched into a church to hear an oration and a prayer. I have no belief in the sanctity of churches, but I could not but be displeased at the incongruity of blending religion with political celebrations in places appropriated to worship; a measure which may in times of ferment breed fanaticism, the mind when agitated not being in a suitable state to approach the Divine Majesty. The troops after quitting the church, were arranged in a small field called the Park in front of the City Hall, where they fired what they called a *feu-de-joie;* but such a one I never saw before, as each man fired his gun without the least regard to his next comrade's discharge, like boys at play with popguns. When the powder was all spent, the men gave three cheers, and dispersed; but the cheering, like the firing, was irregular, and of course not very animating. Unless the Americans learn to pay more minute attention to things in common life, than is at present observable, they are not very likely to celebrate their Independence in fine style, as a

carelessness in one respect begets carelessness in another. The present mode of celebration is injurious to public morals, as was evident from the numbers of persons lying on the following morning in the streets, unable to move from the effects of the night's debauch. But this I suppose they think excusable, when testifying their devotion to liberty.

But with respect to the love of liberty, which passion the Americans suppose themselves to possess in an extraordinary degree, and on which they much value themselves, an equivocal character only can be given, since they are less anxious to have liberty universal than would be the case were that passion properly grounded in them. They are certainly the friends of free governments, that is of governments under popular control; and they take a lively interest in the struggles of the people of other countries to obtain their just rights; but then, so regardless are they of the injustice of slavery at home, that their policy is directed to extend and perpetuate it. This I give as the character of the majority. The people of the northern and middle States have indeed not only abolished slavery, but they testify their abhorrence of it, and lament that a vestige of it should continue in the country, considering it as their

greatest disgrace; yet they are so inconsistent with their professed principles, as to refuse to give true and rational liberty to those amongst them whose skins are a tinge darker than their own. They will not allow a man of negro origin to be a magistrate, a legislator, or even a juryman. They are willing to grant liberty and equality, where neither their imaginary interest nor their prejudice interferes to prevent it; but let either of those present itself, and they are reluctant to make any concession; in which they are on a level with the tyrants of antiquity, and the self-styled Holy Allies of our own time: for what but interest or prejudice prevents those high personages from acting conformably to just principles of liberty?

The prejudice of the Americans against the coloured people, is not a whit more reasonable than that of the Hindoos against the sooders, or of the Germans against the Jews. They are filled with wonder and indignation when they hear of the contempt shown to the descendants of Abraham, and pity the want of light which produces that contempt; and yet they cannot or do not perceive, that their contemptuous treatment of the blacks is just as irrational and unjustifiable. On the contrary, Irving in his Sketch Book con-

gratulates his countrymen on their freedom from prejudice, exclaiming; "What have we to do with national prejudices?" implying by that interrogation, what I verily believe they assume for granted, that they are the only people whose minds are unbiassed by unworthy motives. Their prejudices are I admit not so numerous as those of some other nations, but in some particulars, those relative to the blacks and foreign countries for example, they are quite as strong.

I have now I believe pointed out most of the prominent traits in the American character, having endeavoured to be impartial. I shall offer no apology to such of my countrymen as may be displeased at my having bestowed praise on a nation they contemn, since men who indulge a groundless hostile feeling to the Americans are beneath their notice; nor shall I offer any apology to the Americans for the severity of my language when writing of their errors, being convinced that they must despise an author who had not courage to avow his opinions, when they are dispassionately formed. Yet I should be sorry if the impression produced on the reader's mind was in the main unfavourable; for though the American character is not without several considerable blemishes, it is on the whole deserving

of esteem and admiration. In judging of it, let it be compared with that of any European people, and in particular, let an Englishman before indulging in censure, consider how much there is in the national character of his own country requiring amendment. A careful comparison may lead him to the conclusion, that the Americans are below few other nations and above several, and ought therefore to be viewed as a people, with whom it is incumbent on us to cultivate a friendly relation. Let it be borne in mind, that no people approximate so nearly to ourselves as they, and that though they fall below us in some particulars, and excel us in others, they are yet in their mental bias, neither French nor Spanish, but English. They are to be considered, not as a satellite shining with a borrowed lustre, but as a fixed star so like another fixed star, that careless observers would be likely to see but little difference between them; just as a man is often taken for his brother by strangers, though persons intimate with either are sensible that the resemblance is not perfect.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONCLUSION.

SINCE my return to England, I have been so frequently asked my opinion on the policy of emigrating to the United States, that I think I shall be rendering an acceptable service to many, by giving it here. Emigration then, should rarely be ventured on, by persons capable of obtaining a comfortable livelihood at home. The uncertainty of success in a foreign land is so great, the prospect of accumulating considerable property is so small, and the difficulties under almost any circumstance are so disheartening, that a man should pause before he ventures to run the risque of disappointment and ruin. A merchant with previously formed connexions might probably do well; the same may be said of hard-working farmers possessing a small capital; but artisans, mechanics, clerks, traders and professional men, are likely, if they venture to cross the Atlantic, to regret having left Old England. There are two classes only who could not fail to improve their condition; but they are often without the means of defraying the expense of the

voyage: I allude to labourers and domestic servants. The condition of these however, is not so greatly superior to that of the same description of persons in England, as to offer inducements to all. "Such as have an established reputation for skill, activity and other good qualities, will do well to remain at home; such as have a character to gain, may transport themselves to America with a full conviction, that by industry, attention and honesty, they will be comfortable and independent. But it is proper for me to add, that several labourers told me they would gladly return to their native land, if they possessed the means of returning.

Several things render America disagreeable to an English emigrant, let his station be what it may, one of which is the climate. We complain in England of the humidity of our atmosphere, and of the frequent changes it undergoes; but troublesome as are the drippings and variations, they are not so trying to the frame as the sudden, great changes which take place in America. The thermometer will sometimes rise or fall forty degrees in a few hours. But this is not the worst. The winter's cold and the summer's heat are so much in extremes, that neither season is agreeable. The winter may indeed be borne without

dissatisfaction, by those who, like me, are fond of cold, as the air is generally dry. But as to the summer, when nature is as it were panting for breath, the earth arid, trees and plants drooping from the drought, musquittoes tormenting by night as well as by day, and when the streets of a city are sweltry like an oven,—who is to bear it patiently? Not even the abundance of peaches and water-melons, grateful as they are to the palate, reconcile an Englishman to it. He sighs, and wishes himself once more in the mild, genial region he has left. The only pleasant season is the autumn, which is very short, for the spring is alternately hot and cold, till heat gains the ascendancy.

Besides the climate, the circumstance of being always regarded as an alien, abates from the comfort of a permanent residence. True it is, that a person after five years' residence may become naturalized; but what signifies the sanction of law so long as in effect it is disregarded? An Englishman, to be sure, is not treated contemptuously like a negro. He may associate on equal terms with his neighbours, and obtain a portion of their confidence; but let him offer himself a candidate for some vacant public post, or declaim against the abuses of the government and

the violation of justice by the magistrates, and he may soon have reason to repent his temerity, and learn that the boasted land of liberty is not the land the most tolerant to foreigners. But of all who find America not to realize their expectations, none are likely to feel their disappointment so keenly, as those who have emigrated under the idea, that more happiness and liberty are to be found under the American than the English government. Such persons are often men of morose dispositions, unlikely to be contented anywhere. But the man of elastic spirit who endeavours to reconcile himself to his new situation, and knows how to appreciate the blessings enjoyed by the people amongst whom his lot is cast, will find that notwithstanding the drawbacks from the comforts of a residence in America, he has a home, which, next to his native home, is the most congenial to the feelings of a patriotic Englishman, and of course the best adapted to promote his happiness.

There are two descriptions of persons who might visit the United States, and travel through them with advantage. The first are scientific characters, especially geologists and entomologists, to whom a field so boundless is opened, that there would be no danger of their lamenting like

Alexander the want of more worlds to conquer. The others are the sons of our nobility and gentry. Great as is the improvement derivable from a tour on the continent of Europe, it may be reasonably believed that one in America would to many be far more advantageous. They could not indeed in America be gratified with cabinets of paintings, sculptures and medals. But they would learn to see the difference between good and bad government; good as it concerns the whites, bad in reference to the blacks. They would mark the evils of slavery both on the master and his servant. They would find that religion needs not the support of the secular power. They would be compelled to admit that persons of whatever religious denomination, may be admitted to an equality of civil rights without danger to the public tranquillity or harmony. They would see that in proportion as trade is unfettered by monopolies and other restrictions, its prosperity is promoted. They would ascertain that property may be protected without penal enactments at variance with equity. They would be convinced that a large standing army in time of peace is unnecessary. They would learn many other truths no less useful, but of which too many of them are at present ignorant. For instance, they would learn that their own happiness, as

well as that of others, would be increased by their adopting a less reserved demeanour. Whilst learning these things, their friends need be under no apprehension of their acquiring disagreeable manners, as the Americans would take a pleasure, if not a pride, in showing hospitality and politeness to such characters; politeness too, I say it with full conviction, which might tend to smooth the asperity so obvious in the English character. In the degree to which the examination of the beauties of nature operates to the refinement of the mind, no deficiency would be felt, as the picturesque and the grand are liberally, and in some districts lavishly spread. Young educated Englishmen therefore, could not fail to return to their native land after a tour in America, without improvement both in mind and disposition.

I have made few comparisons between America and England, the reason for which is, that if I had indulged in them, I should often have appeared invidious; accordingly so cautious have I been of unduly advancing England, that some may suppose that I have not a proper pride in the name of Englishman. To prevent any mistake on this point, I think it right to add, that my patriotic feelings were strengthened by my

journey in America; for when I compared the condition of the poor in the two countries, by considering the degradation of the blacks in the one, and of the occasional hardships of all the labourers in the other, I was led to the conclusion that England is the happier, the state of the poor being no bad criterion of national happiness. When I also surveyed the state of the middle and upper ranks, I was still more forcibly impressed with the same conviction. Yes; England is the country in which, with my present knowledge, I would rather have had my birth than any other. I am indeed sensible that many things in the laws and government are adverse to the enlightened state of the present age; yet with all the grievances of which we may justly complain, we have in my opinion substantial grounds for joy and exultation. America, next to our own, is the land the most worthy of our esteem and affection. If it should ever happen that the liberty of England should be destroyed by the continental despots, we should find in that country not only a secure asylum, but a people whose character assimilates so nearly with our own, that our lot would be vastly superior to that of men driven to countries, where a different language and opposite manners are established. I am putting an imaginary case;

but though this country has little to fear a foreign conquest, it is by no means clear, that assistance to prevent it may never be required. Should such a period arrive, we may look to America with confidence that she would not be backward in her good offices.

Meanwhile, the example of America ought not to be lost upon our statesmen; indeed as it cannot be lost upon the country at large, it is the height of folly for them to disregard it. Our institutions are too firmly fixed to be safely suddenly changed; but as many of them must inevitably be changed at no distant period, either by lawless violence or legal enactment, the interest of the country requires, that such preparation for gradual changes be made as may render the former unnecessary. It is obvious to the observers of the times, that public opinion is more in favour of a reform of the unsound parts of our system of government, both in church and state, than was the case only a few years ago. In proportion to the increase of this feeling, the necessity of complying with it becomes additionally manifest, as the safety-valve must have room to act, when the pressure of the steam is too high. It therefore behoves the executive authority, to encourage the prelation of virtue

and talent, rather than of birth and interest. The approbation of the people at large, not that of a few families for the sake of parliamentary support, should now be the object of a British statesman. Supported by the popular voice, he might, as was formerly the case, give the law to continental Europe, and promote the cause of rational liberty. Unless such a course be pursued, this country, in the event of another revolution in France, will be in the predicament of a man, who having relinquished considerable advantages for some supposed benefit, finds that he has been cheated and betrayed. Another crusade of thirty years against liberty is more than the people could or would bear. Hence the spirit of the age should be met by conciliation, to prevent a recurrence of past misery at home, and a disruption of society abroad; for the example of this country is still influential on the continent. The march of improvement may be checked by power and bigotry for a time, but it can no more be finally impeded, than the intumescence of the sea could be controlled by the command of Canute. The monarchs of Europe and their ministers appear not to be so fully aware as was that prince, that kings are not omnipotent. They seem to think that reformation in their respective governments may be pre-

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vented, notwithstanding the diffusion of knowledge which is now so extensive and increasing. They would be glad to veil from the eyes of their subjects the example of America in those points which render her the most estimable, though they might be willing that others in which she is culpable, should be generally known. But in all their struggles to preserve abuses, they can no more prevent the influence of America in what is really good from being felt, than America can avert the detestation of mankind, so long as she continues to support the slave trade, and uses no endeavours to extinguish slavery. Let us then hope that the present friendly feeling between America and England, will induce each to emulate the other in the career of improvement, that so they may be more and more closely united, and that the efforts of the tyrants of other countries may be thwarted and overpowered. Then may we hope that a brighter day will dawn upon Europe, the harbinger of permanent tranquillity, freedom and happiness.

THE END.

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